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ABSTRACT

This monograph, part of a series that critically challenges conventional definitions of school management and school resources, takes the view that the major resources in schools are culture and knowledge. What counts as culture and knowledge in the school is the subject of continuing debate by individuals and groups who articulate different desires, needs, and demands. Guidelines for the management of resources must deal with negotiations among these various groups. The purpose of this monograph is to describe an approach to the management of resources which has the following characteristics in the school setting: (1) resources are managed in a continuous cycle of activity which integrates goal setting, need identification, policy making, planning, budgeting, and evaluating; (2) each phase in the cycle is organized around the major resource of knowledge, with patterns of activity designated as programs which support learning; and (3) a framework is provided within which negotiation about resources may occur, securing appropriate involvement of staff, students, and community. An introductory essay describes a progress account of this approach in government schools in Victoria, Australia, and includes a detailed description of each phase of the cycle. It provides guidelines for two phases, policy making and resource allocation, illustrating the manner in which negotiation may be managed, and lists the benefits of the approach to principals, teachers, parents, and students. Three supplementary readings follow the introductory essay. In the first, tensions among three central values (liberty, equality, and efficiency) of school governance in Western democracies are analyzed by William L. Boyd in "Competing Values in Educational Policy and Governance: Australian and American Developments." In the second, Peter Watkins discusses changed administrative concepts during collective action in Victoria, in "Collective Strategies: Collaborative Approaches towards the Administration of Education." In the third, Walter I. Garms, James W. Guthrie, and Lawrence C. Pierce demonstrate how school districts fail to reflect clientele's interests, in "Reforming Public School Management and Budgeting." Each entry provides references; an annotated bibliography is appended. (CJH)

POLICY FORMATION AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION

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BRIAN CALDWELL and JIM SPINKS

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EED433 Management of Resources in Schools

Policy Formation and Resource Allocation

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The course includes:

- Lawrence Angus, *Class, Culture and Curriculum: A Study of Continuity and Change in a Catholic School*
- Lawrence Angus, *Schooling, the School Effectiveness Movement and Educational Reform*
- Richard Bates, *The Management of Culture and Knowledge*
- Richard Bates, *Administrative Arenas: The Social Context of Educational Administration*
- Brian Caldwell & Jim Spinks, *Policy Formation and Resource Allocation*
- Peter Watkins, *Time, Organisation and the Administration of Education*

These books are available from Deakin University Press, Victoria, 3217.
Further titles may be added to the list from time to time.

Students enrolled in the course are also supplied with a guide to the course.

Series introduction

This series of monographs critically challenges conventional definitions of school management and school resources. Indeed, it is argued that the most important resources available to schools are cultural. These include conceptions of time, power, appropriate behaviour and dispositions, and knowledge. The management of such resources is considered through an examination of various curricular, pedagogical and administrative processes.

Each monograph develops the significance for educational administration and educational outcomes of such cultural resources. In this way, schooling and educational administration are seen to be inextricably located in a social and political context. The series, then, explores the links between education and society, educational administration and social order, cultural dispositions and educational opportunity, knowledge and hierarchy, school and community. Such issues are discussed at a theoretical and historical level in several monographs and, in others, their adminstrative and educational implications are illustrated by case studies.

An original essay summarising the major arguments concerning education and cultural resources is presented in each monograph. This is supplemented by several key articles. In addition, an annotated bibliography directs readers to important works which are relevant to the themes and issues of the monograph. It is expected that readers will draw connections between the material presented in the series and their own educational experiences. In this way they are encouraged to explore further the cultural and value-laden nature of education and educational administration, and the notion that cultural resources are the most important resources that are managed in schools.

Lawrence Angus,
Course team chairperson

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Policy formation and resource allocation

Introduction

The manner in which resources are allocated in a school has been traditionally described in terms which may include the budget (money), the timetable (staff), the building program (space) and the learning resource centre (print and non-print materials). Guidelines for the management of resources have invariably reflected this perspective, with articles or texts concerned with the technical skills of budgeting, timetabling and so on. The view has been taken in this course that the major resources in the school, as in the wider society, are culture and knowledge. What is to count as culture and knowledge in the school, as in the wider society, is the subject of continuing contestation by individuals and groups who articulate different desires, wants, needs and demands. What actually 'happens' in the school at any particular time is the outcome of negotiation among these individuals and groups. Consistent with this expanded view of what constitutes resources in education, guidelines for the management of resources must also deal with the manner in which these contests may be conducted. Such a guide thus moves a study of this facet of educational administration from the traditional focus in areas such as finance or business management to what is more broadly conceived as an educational focus.

The purpose of this monograph is to describe and illustrate an approach to the management of resources which reflects the broader perspective adopted in the course. In general terms, this approach has the following characteristics in the school setting:

1 Resources defined broadly as above are managed in a continuous cycle of activity which integrates goal setting, need identification, policy making, planning, budgeting, implementing and evaluating.

2 Each phase in the cycle is organised around the major resource of knowledge, with patterns of activity designated as learning programs or programs which support learning.

3 A framework is provided within which negotiation about resources and resource allocation may occur, securing appropriate involvement of staff, students and the community in the contest. Particular attention is given to the role of the school council where such a body exists and has responsibility for policy making.

The comprehensive, continuous and collaborative nature of the approach has led to its designation in this monograph and elsewhere (Caldwell & Spinks, 1985) as the Collaborative School Management Cycle. The authors acknowledge the limitations and the shortcomings of attempts to capture such complex processes in titles of this kind.

The first section of the essay describes the origins of the approach in the recently completed studies of resource allocation in school (Caldwell 1985). Included is a progress account of its systematic adoption in government schools in Victoria. Then follows a detailed description and illustration of each phase of the cycle. The third section provides guidelines for two phases, policy making and resource allocation, illustrating the manner in which negotiation may be managed. The fourth section lists the benefits of the approach to individuals and groups engaged in the contest, including the principal, teachers, parents and other members of the school community and, most importantly, to students. The final section illustrates how the same view of resource allocation may be applied in other settings, with the regional and national levels chosen for this purpose. The essay concludes with a summary of the main themes.

Identification of the collaborative school management cycle

The Collaborative School Management Cycle was identified in the Effective Resource Allocation in Schools Project (ERASP), a joint endeavour of the Education Department of Tasmania and the Centre for Education at the University of Tasmania which commenced in December, 1982. Supported by the Commonwealth Schools Commission as a Project of National Significance, the purposes of the project were to identify the processes and skills which are required for the effective allocation of resources in government and non-government schools and to establish a program for the assessment and development of the requisite skills among those in, or preparing for, positions of responsibility. The identification of processes and skills required, first, the nomination of schools considered highly effective in both a general sense and in the manner in which resources were allocated and, second, the careful study of practices related to resource allocation in such schools.

It is evident from the above that resources were, at least in the initial stages of the project, rather narrowly conceived in the traditional sense. Indeed, the major focus at the outset was money, since the value of the project was suggested by recent developments in Tasmania where government schools now have a relatively high degree of autonomy in financial management compared to their mainland counterparts. For example, more than 70 per cent of recurrent grants paid by the Commonwealth Schools Commission to the Education Department of Tasmania are channelled directly to the school level. However, the broader and more appropriate view of resources and resource allocation which is adopted in this course emerged during the project and in the subsequent trial and adoption in Victoria of the approach designated as the Collaborative School Management Cycle. The following brief account of the approach adopted in the project explains the emergence of this broader perspective. A detailed account may be found in the reports of the project (see especially Misko, 1985).

The strategy in ERASP was to identify schools which were highly effective in a general sense and schools which were highly effective in the manner in which resources were allocated. Schools which were nominated in both categories were chosen for detailed study. Two issues had to be resolved in implementing this strategy: first, what criteria would be used to describe such schools and, second, what the process of identification would be. For the first, a comprehensive review of literature associated with the effective schools movement was undertaken to provide lists of characteristics of highly effective schools, both in general and in relation to resource allocation. Both sets of characteristics were the subject of critical review to determine their suitability in the Tasmanian setting, this review being carried out by a group which comprised a cross-section of teachers and administrators in government and non-government schools and by a small panel of persons with wide knowledge and experience of education in Tasmania. For the second issue, a decision was made to use a modification of the so-called 'reputational approach', in which the persons best suited to judge the reputations of schools were considered to be regional superintendents, regional directors, and directors of primary and secondary education for government schools, and senior officers and Commonwealth Schools Commission personnel for non-government schools. The groups which provided the critical appraisal of effectiveness characteristics expressed the view that these persons were in the best position to make such judgments. In addition, it was decided to employ two sets of judges: one set to nominate schools on the basis of their general effectiveness and the other to nominate schools on the basis of their effectiveness in resource allocation.

Judges were asked to make nominations on the basis of the extent to which they saw schools possessing the characteristics of effectiveness described earlier. Nominations were made in categories which reflected differences in type, location, size, and socio-economic composition of the school community. Schools which received the most nominations and were nominated by both sets of judges were chosen for detailed study. The limitations of the school effectiveness movement and its associated literature are frankly acknowledged. A discussion of these limitations can be found in Angus (in press) and Watkins (in press) in this monograph series. However, in the search for schools which were considered highly effective in the traditional narrow sense of resource allocation, a wide net was cast to ensure that schools which were perceived to be highly effective in a general sense provided the pool for selection. The result as described below was the adoption of a broader perspective of resources and resource allocation, and the identification of a process which can be described and illustrated in simple terms and which is applicable in a variety of existing settings.

The school which received more nominations than any other in Tasmania as a highly effective school was Rosebery District High School located in a relatively remote setting on the West Coast of Tasmania. School enrolment was about 600, with half at the primary (K–6) level and half at the secondary (7–10) level. A retrospective view in the ERASP study was that the approach to management at Rosebery reflected the belief that the major resources were culture and knowledge and that each phase of management (goal setting, need identification, policy making, planning, budgeting, implementing and evaluating) was based on patterns of knowledge organised in learning programs and the support of learning programs. Learning programs include subjects of study such as mathematics, music and science. Programs which support learning include those designated as administration, and buildings and grounds. Resources in the traditional sense were allocated in a manner consistent with priorities within and among these programs. The existence of contestation and the need for an appropriate framework for negotiation were recognised in the approach to management, with open and well-understood processes for collaboration being evident in each phase. A school council with policy-making powers was central to these processes. Outcomes of negotiation were recorded in documents characterised by their brevity and simplicity.

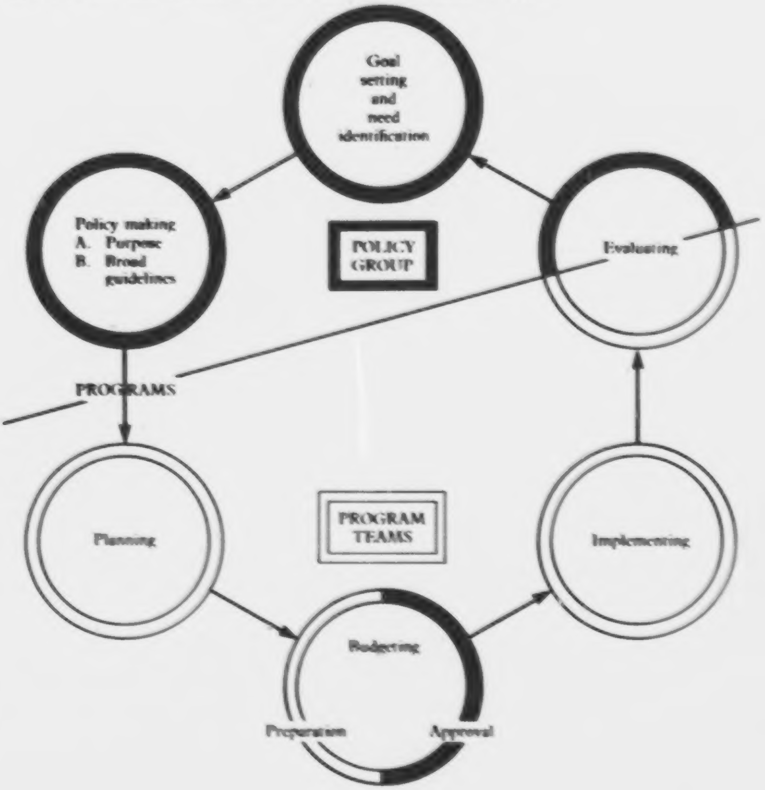
The approach at Rosebery was documented in print and on videotape and was the subject of a series of seminars and workshops in early 1984, with the major contributors being the authors of this essay: Brian Caldwell in his capacity as Director of the Effective Resource Allocation in Schools Project and Jim Spinks as Principal of Rosebery District High School. Shortly thereafter, both were invited to serve as consultants to the Education Department of Victoria in the implementation of school-level program budgeting. A purpose of the authors in undertaking this consultation was to shift the focus of administrators and others in the school community from the narrow, traditional view of resources and resource allocation and its preoccupation with money, to the broader perspective adopted in this course. The allocation of financial resources was regarded as a small, though important phase of a more comprehensive process which starts from consideration of the school and its cultural setting and gives major attention to the design and development of programs for learning and the support of teaching and learning.

The Collaborative School Management Cycle seemed ideally suited to the Victorian setting. Since 1983, approaches to school management in that state have reflected principles set out in a series of Ministerial Statements (Fordham 1983a). These principles included devolution of authority and responsibility to the school community and the use of collaborative decision-making processes. It also became apparent during the course of the consultation that the Collaborative School Management Cycle provided a useful management framework for Commonwealth and State initiatives which called for schools to appraise the manner in which resources, defined broadly, are allocated. These included the School Improvement Plan, Participation and Equity Program, Country Education Program, Supplementary Grants (Disadvantaged Schools Program) and School Self-Evaluation. Consultancies in other states and the Northern Territory have suggested that the view of resources and the approach to resource allocation in the Collaborative School Management Cycle has wide application. The next section of this essay provides a detailed description and illustration of the approach.

Allocation of resources in a collaborative school management cycle

The Collaborative School Management Cycle consists of six activities or phases: goal setting and need identification; policy making, with policies defined in terms of purposes and broad guidelines or strategies for achieving purposes; planning of programs for learning and for the support of learning; preparation and approval of a plan for the allocation of resources to programs; and implementing and evaluating. The final phase sets in motion the process of renewed goal setting and need identification, and so the cycle is ongoing. Means and ends remain linked in an emergent, critical and reflective approach to educational practice. The illustration of the cycle in Figure 1 is an 'ideal' view, with the six phases shown as a sequential process of activity in the order given above. Taken literally, it falsely suggests, for example, that preparation of a program plan will occur only after a policy for that program has been determined and that activity related to policy making will cease following commencement of the planning phase. Similarly, it suggests that evaluation will occur when a program has been implemented, prior to determining or refining goals or specifying needs. It is acknowledged that, in practice, activity related to each of the phases may occur at any time; indeed, activity in all six may occur simultaneously. Expressed another way, in terms of the perspective adopted in this monograph and in the course in general, the contestation of resources and the allocation of resources is continuous: there is never-ceasing negotiation among the individuals and groups who make up a school community. What is recorded in a written statement of policy represents the outcome of the contest at the time at which the policy was formulated. Policy-related issues in a given area may continue to surface, with discussion and debate on these issues a constant background to activity in the other phases.

Figure 1 Collaborative school management cycle


Goal setting and need identification
Policy making
A. Purpose
B. Broad guidelines
POLICY GROUP
Evaluating
PROGRAMS
Planning
PROGRAM TEAMS
Implementing
Budgeting
Preparation
Approval

Similarly for the specification of needs–whether a discrepancy between 'what is' and 'what ought to be' is large enough to warrant its consideration as a need which demands action is a matter for contestation. Individuals and groups will differ in their view of 'what is' and will differ in their values and preferences as to 'what ought to be'. Whether a discrepancy is significant or not and, if it is, what priority should be accorded action will similarly be matters of disputation. A decision to act will be simply a statement of the outcomes of such a dispute according to whatever policies and procedures were adopted for decision making at the time. Figure 1 is offered, nevertheless, for purposes of discussion and illustration, and as a guide to action.

The distinction between 'policy group' and 'program teams' in Figure 1 provides the basis for a workable approach to collaborative school management. The people who constitute the policy group will vary from state to state and among schools. There may be different policy groups within a school. In Victoria, where recent legislation requires the school council to determine the education policy of the school within guidelines provided by the Minister of Education, the policy group will clearly be the school council. In other states where school councils are advisory in nature or do not exist the policy group may be the principal alone, the principal and senior staff, or the principal and senior staff with advice from teachers and other members of the school community.

The authors share the belief, however, that school communities should be empowered in the manner which has been legislated in Victoria. Indeed, as noted later in the essay, this belief prevailed at Rosebery even though school councils are a local option in Tasmania. The activities of the school associated with teaching and learning and which support teaching and learning are divided into programs. The policies and priorities set by the policy group shape the planning of these programs by members of program teams, who will be the teachers in most instances. Program teams are responsible for preparing a plan for the implementation of policies related to their programs and for identifying the resources required to support that plan. A program plan and the proposed pattern for resource allocation together constitute a program budget. While program budgets are prepared by program teams, they must be approved by the policy group: they must reflect the policies and priorities established earlier by that group. Following implementation by program teams, the evaluating phase is again a shared responsibility, with program teams gathering information for program evaluation and the policy group gathering further information as appropriate to make judgment on the effectiveness of policies and programs.

In general, then, referring again to Figure 1, the policy group has responsibility for those phases which are emphasised in black – largely those above the diagonal line – while program teams work within a framework of policy to take responsibility for the remaining phases – largely those below the diagonal line. It is important to note that there is never an absoultely clear distinction between the responsibilities of the policy group and those of the program teams. There will, for example, be a high degree of overlap as far as personnel are concerned, and a continuing, high level of formal and informal communication. The principal and some teachers (and, in some cases, parents and students) will, for example, be members of both the policy group and of program teams where a school council is the policy group. The policy group may frequently depend on the principal and program team for the identification of policy options.

What follows is a detailed description and illustration of the process and product of the Collaborative School Management Cycle. The major resource in negotiations in each phase is knowledge related to learning and the support of learning. What constitutes knowledge, and the process of negotiation in the contestation for this knowledge, is shaped by the other major resource; namely, the culture of the school. The allocation of resources viewed more traditionally is also described and illustrated.

Goal setting and need identification

Goal setting

A goal is considered here to be a statement of broad direction, general purpose or intent; it is a general statement of value and is not concerned with a particular outcome at a particular moment in time. Goals for a school may be related to desired outcomes for students, to the kinds of learning experiences which shall be provided for students, to the support of teaching and learning, and more generally to the management of the school. A sample goal related to learning outcomes is 'To develop knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to participate in the political process'; a sample related to learning experiences is 'To provide opportunities for children to pursue and develop their capabilities'; and a sample related to the management of the school is 'To provide a variety of opportunities for parental involvement in the activities of the school'.

It is proposed in the Collaborative School Management Cycle that the setting of school goals be the responsibility of the policy group. In many instances these goals may be constrained by goals or statements of government policies that are set for the State or for the system as a whole. It is evident, however, subject to these constraints, that what constitutes a goal is a matter for contestation within the policy group. Whether or not a school adopts the goal 'To provide opportunities for children to pursue and develop their capabilities', will depend on the values and preferences of those engaged in the negotiation. These values may be embodied in the more fundamental set of beliefs which constitute part of the school culture. In this instance the more fundamental belief might be reflected in a statement of school philosophy that 'We recognise and take account of the differences between individual children in planning our school program and in our dealings with them'. Similarly, the goal 'To provide a variety of opportunities for parental involvment in the activities of the school' may reflect an enduring belief, now part of the school culture, that 'In planning our school program we believe it is important to take account of the nature, interests, values, expectations and ambitions of our community'. The metaphor of 'partnership' may prevail in much of the discourse related to the management of such a school, and the structures, ceremonies and rituals of school life may bring teachers, parents and students together wherever possible.

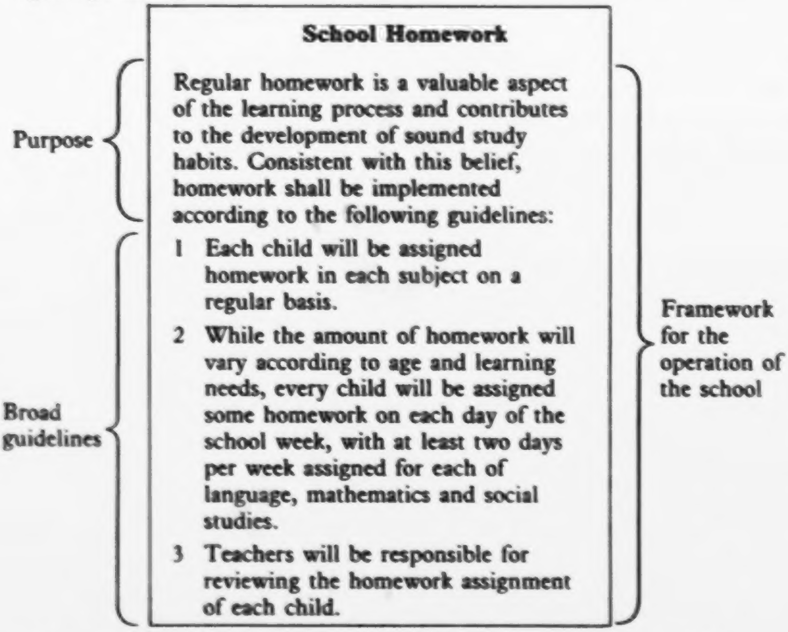
Need identification

The second aspect of this phase of the Collaborative School Management Cycle is need specification. A need is usually considered to exist if 'what is' falls short of 'what ought to be'. A 'what ought to be' statement is often expressed in the form of a goal such as 'To provide staff support for each program at a level commensurate with state-wide standards'. A recommended standard for support in a curriculum resource centre of a school having more than 500 students might be a half-time aide. A need would exist if the school currently has the services of an aide on a 0.3 full-time equivalent (FTE) basis for only, say, three half-days per week. This is, however, a rather simplistic view of specifying needs. The policy group may take account of other matters before deciding that a discrepancy between 'what is' and 'what ought to be' is large enough to warrant action, and that decision will be a matter for negotiation. Assuming a discrepancy such as that described above, what harm will be done if the gap is not closed? How important is this need compared with others which may exist?

Policy making

A policy consists of a statement of purpose and one or more broad guidelines or strategies as to how that purpose is to be achieved which, taken together, provide a framework for the operation of a school or program. A policy may allow discretion in its implementation. A sample statement of policy on homework at the post-primary level is shown in Figure 2. This is a sample of a policy that applies to all areas of instruction in the school. Other policies may apply to only one area of activity; for example, a high school may have a policy related to the mathematics program.

Figure 2 Sample statement of policy on homework at the post primary level


Purpose
Broad guidelines
Framework for the operation of the school

School Homework

Regular homework is a valuable aspect of the learning process and contributes to the development of sound study habits. Consistent with this belief, homework shall be implemented according to the following guidelines:

1 Each child will be assigned homework in each subject on a regular basis.

2 While the amount of homework will vary according to age and learning needs, every child will be assigned some homework on each day of the school week, with at least two days per week assigned for each of language, mathematics and social studies.

3 Teachers will be responsible for reviewing the homework assignment of each child.

Some differences between this view of policy and those which often prevail should be noted. An examination of policy handbooks sometimes reveals that what are referred to as policies are really statements of philosophy or goals. Other policy handbooks are often simply collections of rules or procedures, that is, detailed specifications of what may or may not be done, or of how something will be done. The view of policy offered here is a balance between the two, with a statement of purpose which is usually derived from a statement of school goals. For example, in the sample policy on homework in Figure 2, a goal of the school may be 'To develop sound, independent study habits in students'.

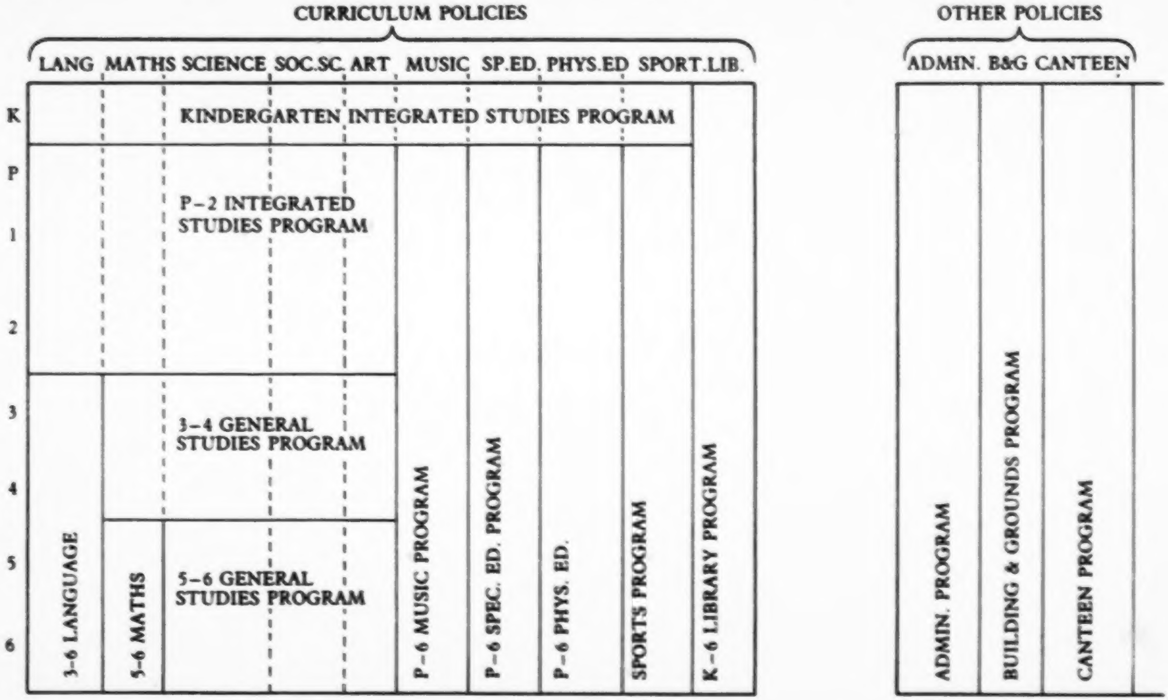
The link between goal setting and policy making is evident in the illustration in Figure 2. That policy making is also an area for contest among members of the policy group and others in the school community is also evident. One can imagine the variety of options which may have been generated and debated before those illustrated were adopted, with differences related to frequency of homework assignments in various subjects and to the responsibilities and extent of discretion of teachers. Once adopted, the policy is intended to shape action in the school but, again, one can well imagine the continuous and contentious nature of issues related to its implementation. Similarly, new actors in the policy process may result in a call for amendment. These developments are understandable, given the number of issues addressed in a policy such as that illustrated in Figure 2. In addition to homework, there is reference to study habits, which reflects beliefs about the nature of student learning, and to a hierarchy of knowledge and the status of subjects.

Consistent with the format of Figure 2, it is recommended that, in general, a statement of policy be limited to a maximum of one page, with statement of purpose and broad guidelines expressed simply, free of jargon, in language which can be understood by all members of the school community. These characteristics are consistent with the view that a policy is a school resource, embodying approaches to the management of knowledge and reflecting aspects of the culture of the school. If this resource is to be available to and understood by all members of the school community, including those who were not involved in the formation of overall policy during the stage of wide consultation, it should be expressed concisely and simply.

Programs

A program is considered here to be an area of teaching and learning or an area which supports teaching and learning corresponding to a normal pattern of work in a school. For example, mathematics is normally taught in a post-primary school so it is appropriate in this setting to refer to 'the mathematics program'. A number of people will be engaged in administration, a collection of activities which support teaching and learning, so it is appropriate to refer to 'the administration program'. The programs found in a school will or should reflect the goals of the school which shape, in turn, the policies of the school or the broad guidelines which provide the framework for action. Given the unique cultural setting of each school, it is rare that two schools will have the same set of programs, despite the fact that in government schools there are some broad goals and policies which apply to all schools in the system.

Figure 3 Sample relationship between policies and programs in a primary school


CURRICULUM POLICIES
OTHER POLICIES
LANG
MATHS
SCIENCE
SOC.SC.
ART
MUSIC
SP.ED.
PHYS.ED
SPORT.
LIB.
ADMIN.
B&G
CANTEEN
K
P
1
2
3
4
5
6
KINDERGARTEN INTEGRATED STUDIES PROGRAM
P–2 INTEGRATED STUDIES PROGRAM
3–4 GENERAL STUDIES PROGRAM
5–6 GENERAL STUDIES PROGRAM
3–6 LANGUAGE
5–6 MATHS
P–6 MUSIC PROGRAM
P–6 SPEC. ED. PROGRAM
P–6 PHYS. ED.
SPORTS PROGRAM
K–6 LIBRARY PROGRAM
ADMIN. PROGRAM
BUILDING & GROUNDS PROGRAM
CANTEEN PROGRAM

GENERAL POLICIES
HOMEWORK
DISCIPLINE
EXCURSION
SCHOOL ORGANISATION

REPORTING TO PARENTS
ASSESSMENT OF STUDENTS
FORMATION OF CLASSES

Figure 3 contains an illustration of a sample relationship between policies and programs in a primary school (K–6). Three kinds of policies are included: curriculum policies in areas such as language, mathematics and science; general policies which apply to all areas of the curriculum such as homework, discipline and excursions; and policies related to areas which support the curriculum such as administraton, buildings and grounds, and the canteen. Areas of teaching and learning corresponding to the normal pattern of work in the school do not coincide with areas of policy in all cases. In the same fashion as the determination of goals, the specification of needs and the formulation of policies, what constitutes a program is a matter for contestation. The programs in Figure 3 represent the outcomes of negotiation among members of the policy group whose responsibility it is in the proposed Collaborative School Management Cycle to establish this program structure.

The program at the Kindergarten (K) level of the school is described in Figure 3 as the 'Kindergarten Integrated Studies Program'. This program reflects a view which prevailed that learning experiences for children at this level should not be manifested in discrete areas of study. There are, however, discrete programs which correspond to certain areas of curriculum policy. These include music, special education and physical education. This program arrangement may reflect (a) the existence on staff of a number of subject specialists in these areas, (b) the placing over time of special value on an area such as music in which the school takes special pride (essentially now an important part of the culture of the school), or (c) particular needs of a sufficient number of students to warrant a discrete program in an area such as special education.

It is evident that there may be dispute over the designation of programs. It is important that these contests are managed in an appropriate fashion, with this being a responsibility of the policy group in the Collaborative School Management Cycle. With a school council as the policy group, it will be a body representative of parents, teachers and perhaps students which determines the program structure. Important educational and personal issues will be at stake in these deliberations and that is as it should be. The management process as it concerns organising for teaching and learning cannot be conducted in isolation from these issues. It is emphasised that members of the policy group are expected to consult with those whom they represent. Participation is encouraged in all stages of the cycle.

Planning

Planning is simply determining in advance what will be done, when it will be done, how it will be done, who will do it, and at what cost. Such an activity is not as straightforward as it appears since each facet is clearly the subject of contestation. Much of the negotiation in such a contest has already been done in the approach suggested by the Collaborative School Management Cycle: the policy formulated earlier provides the framework for the planning effort.

There are different levels of planning related to a particular program, described here as program planning, curriculum planning and instructional planning. Program planning is determining in general terms how a program is to be implemented, specifying such things as: the manner in which students will be grouped vertically (among grade or year levels) and horizontally (within a grade or year level); the number and type of teachers or support staff associated with the program; and the supplies, equipment and services required and initiatives (additions or deletions) which are noteworthy. Curriculum planning usually provides a more detailed specification of what will be taught, how it will be taught and when it will be taught, though flexibility in these matters is often desirable. Instructional planning is considered here to be the planning undertaken by individual teachers when implementing a curriculum plan in their own classrooms.

Figure 4 contains a plan for a Learning Resource Program in a school. The plan for implementation is preceded by statements of purpose and broad guidelines which are summaries of the school policy related to learning resources. This illustrates that aspect of the Collaborative School Management Cycle which links policy making and planning. The plan for implementation is consistent with policy in that it describes services and resources that are made available through a learning resource centre staffed by a teacher and an aide. It is also consistent with priorities established by the policy group in that if refers to a major evaluation in the previous year which drew attention to shortcomings in the program and led to the placing of a high priority on overcoming those shortcomings.

The plan for implementation in Figure 4 contains six parts described as planning elements which are placed in an order of priority by the program team. An order of priority is an acknowledgment that resources are limited and that all elements of the plan may not necessarily be implemented in the year ahead. An order of priority is thus valuable in the program-budgeting phase of the Collaborative School Management Cycle. It is evident, however, that this order of priority will be the subject of negotiation among members of the program team.

Figure 4 A sample plan for a learning resource program

A summary of school policy on learning resources which was adopted by policy group

Purpose

The purpose of the learning resource program is to provide learning resources for use by staff and students. More specifically, the purpose is to ensure that:

1 The full range of learning resource services are made available to staff and students in an efficient and effective manner.
2 New and replacement materials are provided to meet ongoing learning needs.

Broad guidelines

1 The learning resource program is implemented through a learning resource centre.
2 The learning resource centre provides print and non-print materials together with facilities and staff for their housing, maintenance, organisation and use.
3 The staff of the Learning Resource Centre includes a trained teacher who shall provide instruction in other aspects of the school program as well as to all students in the use of learning resources.
4 The trained teacher who is responsible for the program is assisted by an aide in the maintenance and organisation of the centre.

The plan for learning resources which is consistent with the policy as summarised above and with priorities established by the policy group

Plan for implementation

A major evaluation of the learning resource program last year made use of a specially devised learning resource services survey to obtain staff and student views on the services and resources offered by the learning resource centre. It revealed a backlog of work associated with the preparation of materials, delays in providing services for a number of teachers and a lack of print materials to provide central support to the mathematics and science programs. The policy group has assigned a high priority to overcoming these shortcomings during the next year. The following is the plan for implementation with elements of that plan placed in an order of priority:

1 To maintain the service provided by the teacher-librarian at the current level of 0.4 FTE (16 units of time per week).*
2 To acquire and maintain resources at the current level with the exceptions noted below.
3 To reduce backlogs and delays by increasing the amount of time of the library aide from 0.5 FTE (20 units) to 0.8 FTE (32 units).
4 To acquire new texts to provide central support to the mathematics and science programs.
5 To acquire new periodicals in science.
6 To acquire new shelving space for the materials listed in 4 and 5 above.
7 To provide a reserve to meet contingencies throughout the year.

*This school has 40 units or periods scheduled each week. Hence a 0.4 FTE teacher is committed to 16 units of time.

Preparation and approval of the budget

In simple terms, a budget is a financial plan which contains estimates of expenditure and forecasts of revenue. A school budget may be viewed as a financial translation of an educational plan for the school. Budgeting is thus one aspect of an ongoing planning process but for purposes of illustration it is considered here to be a separate phase in the Collaborative School Management Cycle. This phase of the cycle addresses the traditional and narrow view of resource allocation.

Figure 5 contains an illustration of the resources required to implement the plan for the learning resource program set out in Figure 4. Each of the elements in the plan for implementation has a counterpart in the estimates of resources required. For example, the estimated cost of Element 1 in the plan (service of teacher-librarian) is the first item in the list of resources required ($9600). Resources are classified as teaching staff, support staff, supplies, equipment and furniture, services and reserve. An allocation is made for salaries even though the school may not be responsible for the payment of salaries or the hiring of staff. It is simply a financial translation of a time allocation which is made in every school. In the illustration, a teacher devotes four-tenths of working time to the learning resource centre which represents sixteen periods of the forty-period week at the school. The average salary of a teacher at this school for one period or unit of time per week over the full academic year is $600, hence the cost of the four-tenths teacher-librarian is entered as 16 × $600; that is $9600. The allocation for the library aide is costed in similar fashion for 32 units at $250 per unit; that is $8000.

The plan for implementation and the statement of resources required of the kind illustrated in Figure 5 are consolidated with plans and statements for all programs in the school. A process of 'reconciliation' must then occur, with estimates of expenditure adjusted in the light of estimates of revenue. This reconciliation process is carried out by a group such as the senior staff of the school or by a committee appointed for the purpose. The consolidation of plans and budgets, with estimates of revenue and expenditure reconciled, is then forwarded to the policy group with a recommendation for adoption. The policy group is involved again at this point to ensure that plans and budgets are consistent with policies and priorities established earlier in the Collaborative School Management Cycle.

Figures 4 and 5 taken together constitute a program budget. The term is to some extent unfortunate since most people associate a budget with a simple listing of estimates of revenue and expenditure whereas Figure 4 contains very little financial information. 'Program plan' is perhaps a better descriptor but, with

Figure 5 **Resources required to support a plan for implementation for a learning resource program**

A financial translation of the plan for implementation

Resources required

Planning element (see plan for implementation)	Teaching staff	Support staff	Supplies	Equipment and furniture	Reserve	Total
1 Teacher-librarian – 16 units at $600 per unit	9 600					9 600
2 Acquisition of print and non-print material at current levels			1 045			1 045
3 Library aide 32 units at $250 per unit		8 000				8 000
4 Textbooks for maths and science			500			500
5 Periodicals in science			120			120
6 Shelving space for new materials				500		500
7 Reserve					150	150
Total	9 600	8 000	1 665	500	150	19 915

Plan for minor evaluation

A learning resource survey will be conducted in July to gather information from staff and students to help make judgments on whether service has improved with the increase in library aide time. Other information in the survey, along with information gathered informally, will enable staff of the learning resource centre to monitor the general quality of service provided.

the increasing rate of adoption of program budgeting, the term 'program budget' is retained but defined broadly to include the characteristics illustrated in Figures 4 and 5. A program budget at the school level is thus a comprehensive plan for an area of teaching and learning or an area supporting teaching and learning which contains a statement of puposes, a listing of the broad guidelines as to how the purposes are to be achieved, a plan for implementation with elements listed in order of priority, an estimate of resources required to support the plan and a plan for evaluation. Consistent with the emphasis on brevity and simplicity, it is recommended that a program budget, containing information of the kind illustrated in Figures 4 and 5, not exceed two pages.

Implementing

With the adoption of a program budget by the policy group, program teams have the authorisation to proceed with implementation of plans in the forthcoming year. There is no need for further reference to the policy group unless there is a major change to these plans. This applies, in particular, to resources: there is no need for approval to acquire each of the resources in the budget and there is no need for approval of accounts for payment. Revenue and expenditure are monitored by program teams and the policy group in regular financial statements.

Members of program teams proceed with the curriculum and instructional aspects of the program plan through the regular teaching program of the school. It is beyond the scope of this essay to consider these aspects of implementation.

Evaluating

The sixth phase of the Collaborative School Management Cycle is concerned with evaluation. Evaluation is the gathering of information for the purpose of making a judgment and then making that judgment. Two kinds of evaluation should occur during or following the implementation of program plans. One is evaluation of learning, where information is gathered to form judgments about the progress or achievement of students. Another is evaluation of programs, where information is gathered to form judgments about the extent to which progress toward goals has been made, needs have been satisfied and policies have been implemented. Information gathered in an evaluation of learning may be used in an evaluation of programs.

The illustration of the Collaborative School Management Cycle contained in Figure 1 shows that program evaluation is a shared responsibility, with part carried out by planning teams and part carried out by the policy group. The policy group has major responsibility in program evaluation since it must be concerned with the extent to which goals, needs and policies have been addressed. Planning teams have a similar interest and gather much of the information in program evaluation for their own use and for the use of the policy group. The cyclic nature of the collaborative school management process takes effect when judgments in program evaluation result in the setting of new goals, the identification of new needs, the formulation of new policies or the introduction of new programs.

In implementing the approach, a distinction is made between minor evaluation carried out annually and major evaluation carried out less frequently, on, say, a three- or five-year basis. The plan for minor evaluation illustrated in Figure 5 indicates an intention to monitor the outcomes of attempts to meet a need revealed in the previous year. A more comprehensive evaluation may be planned on other occasions. The emphasis is on the manageable and usable approach to program evaluation, in contrast to the frequently exhausting approach to school review and evaluation which has been encountered in many schools in recent years. It is recommended, for example, that a report of a minor evaluation for a program be a maximum of one page and that a report of a major evaluation be a maximum of two pages.

The design of a program evaluation will clearly be a matter of negotiation within the policy group or within the program team, depending on the type of evaluation. The information which is generated becomes a resource for further negotiation in terms of its interpretation and any subsequent decisions.

Relationship to Commonwealth and State initiatives

A number of recent Commonwealth and State initiatives have provided many schools with opportunities to critically appraise the use of their resources and their processes for the allocation of resources. The Collaborative School Management Cycle provides a framework within which these initiatives may be contested. Three illustrations in the Victorian setting are offered here: school councils, the School Improvement Plan and the Participation and Equity Program, with the last being a Commonwealth-supported initiative.

The relevance of the Collaborative School Management Cycle to the Victorian scene is evident when 'policy group' is replaced by 'school council' in Figure 1 and the descriptions and illustrations contained in the pages which followed Figure 1. The following excerpts from the Ministerial Statement on School Councils (Fordham 1983b, pp. 5-7) illustrate the appropriateness of the cycle in the Victorian context: 'The Government will amend the Act and Regulations to make the school council responsible, within the framework of overall State policy guidelines, for the educational policies and plans of its school'; 'The Government intends that school councils will decide the major directions of the school program by their involvement in the determination of curriculum objectives, the use of resources available to the school and in broad organisational policies'; 'Policy would include the development and review of a statement of the school's aims, values, general principles and an overview of the arrangements being made to achieve them'; and 'It (the school council) should seek to develop three-year or longer-term plans to give operational form to its policies and to provide a basis for the staffing, budgeting, building, curriculum and resources decisions necessary to bring educational policies to fruition'.

The central role of the school council in the negotiation of the major resources of the school namely, culture and knowledge, is evident from the foregoing, as is its role in the management of resources more narrowly defined in the traditional sense. Non-government schools with boards of management or councils would see a similar matching between the roles of these bodies and the framework for resource allocation offered by the Collaborative School Management Cycle. It is suggested, however, that many such boards and councils could be constituted in a manner which more closely matches the approach at Rosebery, thus facilitating the wider involvement of members of a school community.

The School Improvement Plan in Victoria is 'aimed first and foremost at assisting schools to improve the learning experiences of all children' (Fordham 1983a, p. 2). These aims are consistent with Commonwealth initiatives and funding arrangements related to school improvement. The relevance of the Collaborative School Management Cycle to the intents of the School Improvement Plan is evident from the following elaboration (Fordham 1983a, p. 6) of the aforementioned aims: 'To assist schools to reflect on their total practice (including curriculum, teaching/learning styles and organisation) and to develop in ways that improve the learning experiences of all students'; 'To encourage and support collaborative practices between parents, students and teachers in schools, and between schools and the rest of the system'; and 'To encourage and support a cyclical process of school evaluation, planning implementation and re-evaluation'. Each of these aims matches precisely the comprehensive, collaborative and cyclical nature of the model for school management set out in this essay. It is interesting to note that many schools in several regions in Victoria are adopting the Collaborative School Management Cycle through their involvement in the School Improvement Plan and their parallel effort to allocate resources in a program budget.

The Participation and Equity Program is a broadly based national effort. The following statement in December 1983 by Senator Susan Ryan, Commonwealth Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, makes clear the value that is placed on equity and participation, with the latter also embracing the notion of participation in decision making, with the implication that schools and colleges involved in the program embrace these values in their organisational culture:

> The program will work toward the important national goal of all young Australians completing a full secondary education or other appropriate education or training . . .
> The Participation and Equity Program places strong emphasis on equity. It will seek to develop education systems under which the less advantaged groups in the community can receive a fair share of the range of benefits education brings. The position of women and girls and other under-represented groups such as Aboriginals and some ethnic groups will be given particular attention under PEP.
> The Government hopes that PEP will provide a focus for involving people in creating a constructive consensus about education. Employers and unions, parents and the community generally have an important part to play in developing and supporting constructive policies for education and training provision in our schools and TAFE Colleges.
>
> (Participation and Equity Program Committee, Victoria 1984, p. 3)

The Commonwealth Schools Commission Guidelines on the Participation and Equity Program published in March, 1984, illustrate the scope of the program as far as the opportunity it affords schools to critically appraise and then make changes to their knowledge and cultural foundations:

> The program will make funds available to the States and non-government schools to stimulate broadly based changes in secondary education including:
>
> - catering at all stages more adequately for the needs of the full range of students;
> - making changes to secondary schools' organisation to accommodate more adequately the social, economic and cultural diversity of students, and to promote self-confidence, independence and a sense of autonomy in all students;
> - reforming and diversifying the curriculum;
> - reviewing credentialling and assessment arrangements, including provision for accreditation of work experience;
> - improving the relationship between schools and the community, and community attitudes to education.
>
> (Participation and Equity Program Committee, Victoria 1984, p. 3)

The guide for communities introducing PEP in their schools (Participation and Equity Program Committee, Victoria 1984) offers three principles for action which are consistent with the Collaborative School Management Cycle: participation in decision making, curriculum development, and evaluation. Similar links are made in the guide to other initiatives such as those related to school councils and the School Improvement Plan.

Negotiation in policy formation and resource allocation at Rosebery District High School

Rosebery District High School has provided the working model for the Collaborative School Management Cycle from the time of its identification in the Effective Resource Allocation in Schools Project as a highly effective school. The processes and products described in the preceding section have evolved since 1977, with an increasing number of schools in Tasmania and, especially, in Victoria adopting the same approach. This section provides a more detailed description of the cultural setting which has influenced the approach at Rosebery. Also included is an account of the manner in which policy is formulated and resources are allocated. The continuous and collaborative nature of these processes and the well-defined settings for negotiation which are essential to such processes are highlighted. This account may provide useful guidelines for other schools but, to a large extent, the approach in other settings must also be a matter for negotiation among individuals and groups, as it was in Rosebery.

The evolution of collaborative school management at Rosebery

Rosebery is a one-industry town associated with the mining operations of E. Z. Co. which operates two silver, lead and zinc mines. This area on the West Coast of Tasmania is very mountainous, densely forested and has a cold, wet climate. Annual rainfall is 2250 mm and snowfalls are relatively frequent in winter, especially on the high slopes of the surrounding mountains. The nearest major centre is Burnie, some 125 km distant on the North West Coast.

The approach to school management at Rosebery evolved as a result of two main factors related to a continuing desire for partnership between staff and community; the need for educatonal programs which were consistent with the special characteristics of the community; and a concern that resources, defined narrowly in the traditional sense, be allocated in a systematic manner, consistent with priorities in the educational program. The continuing desire for partnership arose from the school's involvement in the mid-seventies in the Disadvantaged Schools Program of the Commonwealth Schools Commission which required a committee of parents and teachers to work together in identifying needs related to disadvantage and then to propose programs to alleviate those needs. One indicator of the success of these programs is the fact that the school moved from near the bottom in the state in terms of results on state-wide tests of literacy to near the top. Once the school was no longer eligible for participation in the program the joint committee of parents and teachers disbanded. While the loss of funding was keenly felt, the greater loss in the minds of participants was the discontinuation of the monthly meetings of the committee. There was a realisation that the pooled knowledge and skills of such a group, together with the opportunity for teachers and parents to work together in partnership for the common good of students, were too valuable to be lost. A decision was made to establish a school council with policy-making powers to ensure that these benefits would continue. Funds from the School Improvement Program in Tasmania were helpful in providing an opportunity for parents and staff to work in a retreat setting to establish the role of the new body.

There was also concern that the educational programs of the school were not always consistent with local needs as perceived by parents and students. Contributing factors in this regard were the relatively high turnover of teachers and high proportion of beginning teachers, that were typical of West Coast schools. There was a tendency for curriculum to reflect the backgrounds and interests of teachers rather than the needs and interests of students and of the local community in general. The school council has since become the arena for the negotiation of a curriculum that as far as possible meets local needs. The Collaborative School Management Cycle became the framework for the allocation of resources, broadly defined, in the manner outlined in the preceding section and explained in more detail below.

A third factor underlying the development of the Collaborative School Management Cycle was related to resources. There was general dissatisfaction with the manner in which money was allocated to the school in small amounts at different times of the year, with various State and Commonwealth grants making their appearance at times that did not match the planning processes of the school. The approach at Rosebery enables estimates of the total amount of revenue that will be available in the school in the forthcoming year to be made at an appropriate time.

The comprehensive, collaborative and continuous process that has evolved at Rosebery is now part of the enduring culture of the school. Figure 6 contains a recent newspaper report which illustrates the manner in which 'partnership' has become the metaphor for the management process and how the major characteristics of that process are kept in the public eye. The contributions of the principal in sharing information about the approach in the Victorian setting are also noted.

Policy formulation at Rosebery

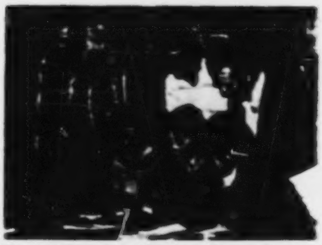
The approach to policy formulation has itself been the subject of negotiation among the individuals and groups who are represented on the school council. The result has been a policy on policy making or a blue-print for policy making that has wide application. It recognises frankly and openly that matters related to the culture of the school and to the knowledge that is to be the major resource in the educational process are matters for contestation. Indeed, the terms 'contentious' and 'non-contentious' are used to describe the two kinds of issues that shape the different approaches that are a feature of the policy process.

The school council has developed its policy base over the last three years by identifying from time to time the issues for which it would like to have written policy or for which it would like to see refinements made to existing policy. Decisions are then made as to whether the particular issues are to be regarded as contentious or non-contentious. A contentious issue is one about which there is major disagreement, conflict or dissatisfaction with current practice: what the policy should be is clearly to be the subject of contestation. A non-contentious issue is one about which there is general satisfaction with current practice, the only concern being that the practice is not presently set out in a written statement of policy. A different approach is used for each classification, with policy formulation for non-contentious issues being largely a matter of documenting existing practice in the format that is considered appropriate for a policy (one page, brief statement of purpose and broad guidelines, free of jargon). Policies prepared in this manner are usually written by members of staff who have experience and/or expertise in the area concerned, with opportunities provided for critical appraisal by others who work in that area prior to submission and ratification by the school council. It may emerge in the school council that the policy statement that is submitted is, in fact, the subject of contestation, in which case the issue is reconsidered according to the procedures adopted for contentious issues. Moreover, once the policy statement is finally decided upon by council, it has entered the cyclical process of policy implementation and review leading to ongoing appraisal and possible refinement or change.

Policy on contentious issues is formulated by referring the matter to a working party appointed for the purpose. A maximum

Figure 6 The collaborative school management cycle as an element of school culture at Rosebery District High School: The metaphor of 'partnership'

School Council 'an invaluable partnership'



The chairman of the Rosebery District High School Council, Mr R J Chapman (left) talks to the newly elected members (from left) Mrs Christina Males, Mrs Ann Double and Mr Ted Pritchard (seated) and Mr Lawson Males and Mr Peter Henschel (standing).

The Rosebery District High School Council has been described as a partnership between the local commmunity and the staff of the school.

Presenting his annual report to the council's recent annual meeting, retiring chairman Mr R. J. Chapman, said the partnership allowed the school to respond to the perceived needs of the children attending the school.

He said the aim of the partnership between the school and the community was to ensure that students had access to an education of the highest possible standard most suited to their needs.

Outlining the council's function, Mr Chapman said the council set goals and identified needs for students, then formed appropriate policies. The council then ensured the school implemented the policies by ratifying the school budget if it reflected the council's policies and priorities.

Mr Chapman said this meant the council has a decision-making role in the overall management of the school.

This role, he said, was vital and essential because it meant that the community had a real and significant say in the direction the school was taking.

Mr Chapman paid tribute to the work of the school principal, Mr J. Spinks, in the developing of programme budgeting as a system of school management.

The system adopted by Rosebery District High School was now a model for other schools, and Mr Spinks had been retained as a consultant to the Victorian Government which was introducing programme budgeting into its schools.

Mr Chapman also paid tribute to two retiring members of council, Mr Steve Fitzallen and Mr Geoff Jay. He said both had made outstanding contributions to the development of the Rosebery council in its early days.

At the recent annual elections five new people were elected to the council. Three of the five represent the local communities and the other two represent the staff of the school.

The new community representatives are Mrs Ann Double, Rosebery; Mr Ted Pritchard, Tullah; and Mr Peter Henschel, Rosebery. The staff representatives on the council are Mr Lawson Males and Mrs Christina Males. Standing members re-elected were Chairman Mr R. J. Chapman and Mrs M. McDonald (community); Mr P. Bradley and Mrs M. Spinks (staff).

All office-bearers were returned unopposed at the annual meeting. Officers for the coming year are: chairman, Mr R. J. Chapman; secretary, T. K. Brient; vice-chairman, Mr J. Spinks; treasurer, Mrs M. McDonald.

Source: *The Advocate*, 2 April 1985.

of six to eight people is recommended, with membership on the basis of stake or expertise in the issue. The major feature of this process is that the working party is always asked to formulate at least three options for consideration by the school council. This is a significant departure from traditional practice where reliance on discussion papers and committees usually meant the presentation of a single recommendation. Moreover, the school council avoids strict adherence to parliamentary procedure, in traditional, formal committee settings. Such procedures as the moving and seconding of a formal resolution, and the ensuing debate often characterised by the plethora of confusing amendments, usually resulted in a sharply polarised meeting, high levels of conflict and the inevitable winners and losers. In contrast, the alternative approach of preparing options reflects a range of views as far as ends and means are concerned. All members of the school council can see elements of a potential policy to which they can give their support. The aim in discussion at meetings of council is to mix and match these elements until a policy can be put together that is not only desirable and workable, but is also acceptable to as large a number of individuals and groups as possible. This is, of course, the process of building consensus and it has emerged at Rosebery as an effective way to manage the conflict that is inevitable on issues that are the subject of contestation.

A model for policy making based on practice at Rosebery has been prepared to assist other schools that seek a systematic approach to the process. This model is shown in Figure 7, with guidelines for policy formulation by a policy group for issues classified as contentious or non-contentious. The important leadership role of the principal is acknowledged, with a variety of role descriptors: policy initiator, policy orchestrator, policy analyst, policy researcher, policy implementer and policy evaluator. Identification of a leadership role for the principal in no way detracts from the collaborative nature of the process as a whole, with leadership shared and shifting according to the issue under consideration.

Resource allocation at Rosebery

The Collaborative School Management Cycle at Rosebery District High School is a continuous process with a multi-year schedule. Figure 8 contains a listing of key events, the designation of an individual or group with responsibility, and the expected date of completion. Term 1 is marked by a review of evaluation reports from the preceding year to identify implications for goal setting, need specification, policy making and program planning. The policy process discussed above is set in motion, with the identification of issues for resolution according to their classification as contentious or non-contentious.

Figure 7 A model for policy formulation based on practice at Rosebery District High School

Identification and classification of issues

The policy group:

1. Lists by title issues for which it would like to have written policy.
2. Classifies issues as either contentious or non-contentious according to the extent to which there is major disagreement on or dissatisfaction with existing practice.
3. Establishes a timetable for policy making, with a different approach for contentious and non-contentious issues.

For non-contentious issues

Document existing practice:

1. Share the task of writing different policies among members of staff and others with expertise.
2. Provide a good example for policy writers to follow;
   - one page
   - statement of purpose and broad guidelines; and
   - free of jargon.
3. Refine draft policies on basis of critical reaction by those who have experience in or knowledge of the issue.
4. Submit refined policies to policy group in batches for adoption or further refinement.
5. Disseminate policies regularly to all in the school community.

For contentious issues

Prepare options as follows:

1. Present a maximum of 3-5 policies per year.
2. Appoint a working party for each issue.
3. Have a maximum of 6-8 persons on each working party.
4. Appoint to the working party persons with both stake and expertise.
5. The working party should gain information from a wide range of individuals and groups with expertise or stake.
6. Formulate at least three options to help build consensus.
7. Each option should be based on a good example as far as format is concerned.
8. Elements of consensus should be refined in a well-written statement.
9. Adopt a policy.
10. Disseminate the policy.

The leadership role of the principal

- Policy intiator
- Policy orchestrator
- Policy analyst
- Policy researcher
- Policy implementer
- Policy evaluator

Figure 8 Schedule of key events in Collaborative School Management Cycle at Rosebery District High School

Event	Responsibility	Completion
Refinement of program plan adopted in preceding year in the light of final pupil enrolment and revenue figures.	Council	February
Appraisal of evaluation report from preceding year to identify implications for goal setting, need specification, policy making and program planning. Commencing in February.	Council and staff	March
Review of existing policy and identification of issues for attention in policy process. Commencing in February.	Council	May
Review of program structure.	Principal and council	June
Establishing priorities among programs.	Council	June
Estimate of revenue and other resources for forthcoming year.	Principal	June
Program planning for forthcoming year, taking account of policies, priorities among programs, and estimates of available revenue. Commencing as early in Term 2 as possible.	Program teams	July
Appraisal of program plans and budgets; reconciliation or balancing in light of estimates of available resources.	Senior staff	July
Review of program plans and budgets, as reconciled with available resources, in light of policies and priorities among programs; with amendment by staff as required. Commencing in September.	Council with amendment by staff as required	October
Major evaluation of selected programs commencing as early in the year as possible.	Working parties appointed by the council	November
Minor evaluation of majority of programs usually commencing in Term 3.	Program teams	November
Preparation of policy options for consideration by council. Commencing in Term 2 with periodic reports by the different working parties.	Working parties appointed by the council.	November

Term 2 is the period in which major planning for the forthcoming year is undertaken. The council makes clear its priorities among programs after the program structure has been finalised. The principal provides estimates of revenue and other resources which will be available in the forthcoming year. The policy handbook is brought up to date, with copies made available to all members of council, all staff and others upon request. This is an attractive document, with its series of single-page policies related to different areas of the school's operations. Program teams then prepare plans and budgets in the light of information contained in the policy handbook. Term 2 is usually marked by the commencement of activity by working parties engaged in either (a) the formulation of policy options for issues identified earlier as contentious or (b) carrying out a major evaluation of a program according to the schedule for cyclical evaluation. Reports of working parties are submitted to council as they come to hand. The term comes to a close with a consolidation of program plans and budgets and their reconciliation or balancing by senior staff in the light of estimated revenue and priorities among programs established earlier by council. The process of pruning budgets is made easier by the work of program teams, which provide an order of priority within plans for implementation.

Term 3 sees the presentation of the proposed program plan and budget to the school council. This is an attractive, easy-to-read document composed of a series of two-page statements for each program along the lines illustrated earlier in Figures 4 and 5. The council appraises the program plan in the light of its policies and priorities. The council adopts the budget after any amendments have been made, usually at its October meeting. It is important to note that the program plan and budget approved at this time is based on estimates of available revenue in the forthcoming year. Refinements are made in February when final enrolments and revenues are known. Term 3 also sees the presentation to council of the reports of the various minor and major evaluations prepared according to the schedule for cyclical program evaluation. This set of one- or two-page reports is also made widely available in an attractive, easy-to-read book. Information in evaluation reports is considered early in the following year as the annual cycle of collaborative school management continues.

The picture which should emerge from the foregoing account is of an open approach to the negotiation of resource allocation, within a framework of policies negotiated earlier, and with clearly defined roles for the various individuals and groups. Information is freely available through simply written one-page policy statements, two-page plans and budgets, and either one- or two-page evaluation reports. These documents are bound together in attractive fashion for use at various points in the cycle or simply for general information. It is evident that the culture of the school embraces the values inherent in this process; namely, openness, collaboration, brevity, simplicity of language and wide availability of information. The events listed in Figure 8 have their associated rituals which have also become part of the school culture. All are embodied in the prevailing use of the 'partnership' metaphor.

An additional characteristic worthy of mention is flexibility, since one might expect that such a systematic approach to the management of resources within a policy framework would lend itself to rigidity. Such is not the case at Rosebery where a study of developments from year to year reveals that the program structure has never remained the same in successive years. New programs have been created in the light of critical appraisal of existing programs and when staff with special skills relevant to local needs have been appointed to the school.

Benefits of collaborative school management

Successful introduction of the Collaborative School Management Cycle at Rosebery District High School has enabled the school to resolve the three concerns outlined at the beginning of the preceding section: the desire for partnership between parents and staff, ensuring that educational programs were consistent with local needs and interests, and planning the allocation of all resources in a manner consistent with priorities among educational programs. These same benefits may be reasonably expected for all schools that adopt the approach.

In general terms, the approach is consistent with that taken throughout the course to which this monograph is a contribution. Only if the resources of the school are defined broadly will all of the resources be allocated in an efficient and effective manner. The cyclical approach to goal setting and need specification, policy formulation, planning, budgeting, implementing and evaluating is offered as an aid to achieve this end, with knowledge as the resource for negotiation at each point. The recommended roles for the policy group and program team are designed to manage the process of negotiation as issues related to all of the resources of the school are contested.

A number of benefits accrue to the various individuals and groups having a role in the Collaborative School Management Cycle.

Benefits to students

The merits of any approach to the management of schools must be established first and foremost in terms of benefits to students.

Three benefits are offered:

1 The focus of this approach to school management is the student. Successful implementation ensures that all resources—teachers, time, space, facilities, supplies, equipment and services—reflect plans to achieve priorities in programs for learning and teaching. These programs represent the school's approach to organising for learning and teaching to the implementation of policies which have been formulated to achieve goals and satisfy needs. These policies, goals and needs reflect the interests of the school community as well as society at large.

2 There is provision for the involvement of students in the policy-making process, especially through structures such as school councils and student councils, as well as in planning for programs in which students may have a special interest or expertise.

3 The documents described in this monograph will assist students gain knowledge and understanding of the programs of the school. It is intended that policies, plans, budgets and evaluation reports be available to all in the school community, especially students.

Benefits to the policy group

Collaborative school management will aid the efforts of those with special responsibilities in the policy process. Such aid is important, given the trend to devolve policy responsibilities to the school level. Eight benefits are offered as follows:

1 The approach integrates the often fragmented approaches to goal setting, policy making, planning, budgeting and evaluation in a manner which establishes a clear, unambiguous and continuing role for the policy group in each phase of the management process. The fragmented approaches often encountered in school management may result in *ad hoc*, haphazard decisions on the allocation of resources which do not reflect priorities.

2 Policy is defined in a manner which will be generally accepted by all in the school community. This benefit is particularly important where school councils have a policy-making role. In these instances, teachers are frequently uncomfortable if policy is defined in a manner which has the appearance of 'parents telling teachers how to teach'. With the view outlined earlier in this essay, policy provides the framework within which teachers can exercise their professional judgments in matters related to the learning-teaching process.

3 A focus on policy for the policy group may help ensure that the routine aspects of implementation are left in the hands of others. The policy group should not, for example, be involved in passing accounts for payment: the budget of the school is approved once only and expenditure consistent with that budget may occur without further reference to the policy group except for regular financial reporting.

4 The focus of the process is on the primary purpose for the school's existence; namely, learning. This is appropriate for a policy group whose tasks should enable it to 'see the whole picture' in terms of this primary purpose.

5 All documents are expressed in language which should be readily understood by all members of the school community.

6 Benefits 3, 4 and 5 combine to produce another; namely, the attraction of capable persons to serve on policy groups. This benefit is particularly important for school councils where the experience of many schools has been one of difficulty in attracting interest among parents. Such lack of interest is understandable if councils are pre-occupied with routine matters such as correspondence, reports, passing accounts for payment and issues which appear far removed from the classroom. The focus on policy related to learning, with general purposes expressed in language which can be understood by all, makes service on a school council an attractive investment of time for those who may have been discouraged from such involvement in the past.

7 The approach provides for accountability, with a substantial and readily understood information base on how resources are to be allocated and why, and with a systematic aproach to program evaluation which ensures that the policy group can assess the extent to which policies have been successfully implemented.

8 The approach lends itself to implementation in stages, with the order of implementation and selection of strategies and tactics tailored to the local setting. With most policy groups, including school councils, typically facing heavy programs, the recommended three- to five-year period of adoption has special appeal.

Benefits to the principal and other leaders

Most of the benefits for the policy group and for teachers apply to the principal and other leaders in the school. Two special benefits are identified here:

1 Collaborative school management is a systematic approach to policy making and planning which constitutes a framework wherein leadership can be exercised; that is, where leaders may

work with and through others to ensure that goals unique to the school are set, needs are identified, policies are formulated and plans are devised for the implementation of policies. In the policy process, the leadership function may be widely distributed with a number of individuals serving as policy initiator or orchestrator, policy analyst or researcher, policy implementer and policy evaluator. In the planning phase of collaborative school management the principal and other leaders of program teams have responsibility for one or more programs but may also act as co-ordinator, motivator and source of information for others with program responsibility.

2 Collaborative school management also provides a framework wherein leaders can exercise the higher order functions of leadership; namely, working with and through others to build the enduring school culture which is critically important if excellence in schooling is to be attained.

Benefits to teachers

Teachers are, in many respects, the key to successful implementation of collaborative school management. They are partners in the policy process and, for most programs, have the responsibility for preparing plans for implementation and for carrying out those plans. Ten benefits are identified as follows:

1 Collaborative school management gives teachers a role in management which focuses on the primary reason for their employment; namely, the education of children. The role of the teacher in school management is largely unsatisfying if it is limited to the more routine aspects of administration.

2 While the distinction between policy making and planning is not always clear, experience to date suggests a reduction in the number of uncertainties, ambiguities and conflicts which have been encountered with the devolution of policy responsibility to the school level, especially through structures such as school councils.

3 The approach provides a framework wherein teachers, working in program teams, can make a substantial contribution to decisions concerning resources in their area of interest. A wider contribution is also encouraged and is aided by dissemination of policies and plans for all programs.

4 Program plans and budgets provide a source of information for teachers as far as the work of their colleagues is concerned. This information is frequently not available or is not known, especially in larger schools.

5 A well-implemented system of collaborative school management ensures that goals and policies are translated into action. Many well-intentioned goal-setting and policy-making endeavours in

the past have resulted in disappointment, if not cynicism, as the results gather dust because of the absence of an approach to school management which ensures that plans and budgets reflect priorities among policies.

6 The approach provides a valuable framework for the management of conflict due to the opportunity it affords for collaboration and openness. Commitment is more likely to result when teachers have had the opportunity to collaborate. Heat and hostility in conflict are minimised when teachers have the opportunity to differ on the basis of good information about the interests of others: much conflict exists because participants lack such information.

7 The openness of the approach and the systematic matching of resources and needs provides teachers with the opportunity to identify areas of overlap and avenues for co-operation. Less systematic, *ad hoc* approaches to school management often result in needless duplication of resources.

8 The approach to collaborative school management described in this essay clearly establishes the worth of teachers as a major resource in the learning process. While caution is advised in costing the services of teachers in program budgets, the extent of teacher support for the various programs is readily evident to all in the school community.

9 Collaborative school management provides an opportunity for many teachers to exercise responsibility. With the current limited opportunity for promotion, this benefit may be seen as fostering job satisfaction as well as commitment to achieving a high degree of school effectiveness.

10 The approach calls for minimum writing and paperwork in the light of the recommended maximum length of the various products in the process: one-page policies, two-page plans and budgets, and one- or two-page evaluation reports for each program. This precision is in contrast to many existing approaches which have seen writing as a tedious chore when policy, for example, has been loosely defined to include practices and procedures, and school reviews have resulted in massive reports, which by their size alone, have frequently been a source of paralysis.

The benefits listed above are those accruing at the school level. Benefits to government and to bodies responsible for sytems of non-government schools are also evident but are not elaborated here. These include the view that collaborative school management as defined in this essay may well be an appropriate means by which much of the rhetoric of devolution, with its emphasis upon responsibility and accountability at all levels of educational governance, can be translated into practice.

Collaborative management cycle in other settings

The Collaborative School Management Cycle is currently the subject of a major dissemination and adoption effort in government schools in Victoria where every school is expected at least to begin the process in the three years commencing 1985 and then to implement it at a rate suited to the setting in the following five-year period. Caldwell has worked with a TAFE college in Tasmania to lay the foundations for implementation there, and with the principal of an Aboriginal community school in a remote part of the Northern Territory, where collaborative approaches are well suited to the culture of that community.

Two wider settings are discussed in this section of the essay; first, regional support of schools, with illustration in the context of the recently created Regional Boards of Education in Victoria and, second, the link between Commonwealth policy formulation and resource allocation.

Collaborative management at the regional level

Regional application of a collaborative management cycle can be most easily demonstrated in the Victorian setting where the Government has established Regional Boards of Education as part of its aim to develop the major role of its regional operations in education; namely, servicing and assisting schools. Excerpts from the Ministerial Statement on these bodies (Fordham 1984) make clear the applicability of a collaborative management cycle.

Paragraph 1.4 of the Ministerial Statement indicates that the Regional Board is to be a decision-making body: 'The Government is committed to the establishment of regional boards as a mechanism for collective decision making by school councils in a region'. A policy development process is foreshadowed in Paragraph 1.5, with acknowledgment that a responsive bureaucracy requires 'both a desire and a capacity to respond quickly and flexibly to the needs of schools. It also requires a policy development process which allows those who will be affected by policies to participate in their development'. Paragraph 2.3 signals the establishment of regional boards as statutory bodies comprising 'elected representatives from school councils and representatives from statewide organisations and the regional community which have an expressed interest in education'.

If policies are considered to be statements of purpose and broad guidelines for action to achieve those purposes, as was proposed earlier in this essay, then the following excerpts suggest the areas in which policies will be made by regional boards:

> Paragraph 3.1 . . . [Boards will be] a key element in the process through which the needs of schools, as a group, are identified and examined, priorities determined for the nature and extent of services and resources . . .
> Paragraph 3.6 Regional boards will be responsible for establishing guidelines for the allocation of school and student support personnel, such as curriculum and generalist consultants, speech therapists and social workers, within the region . . .

A planning and resource allocation role is also evident as illustrated in the following excerpts:

> Paragraph 3.1 . . . Boards will have planning, liaison and coordinating responsibilities . . .
> Paragraph 3.3 Regional boards will play a critical role in the development of long-term plans for the regions . . .
> Paragraph 3.2 . . . regional boards will exercise a discretion within an available budget and central guidelines in respect of the administrative staff needed for effective regional operations.

Given the 'core principles' of the Victorian Government which underly the various changes in educational governance in that state since 1982, especially that related to processes of participative, collaborative decision making on the basis of shared responsibility, it is suggested here that a collaborative regional management cycle, with the regional board constituting the policy group, may be a helpful framework for regional operations in the years ahead. Its applicability at the central level is also evident, though the composition of the policy group may be the subject of contention. Indeed a recent review of restructuring within the Education Department in Victoria suggested an urgent need for clarification of policy roles at both regional and central levels (State Board of Education, Victoria 1984). In the final analysis, however, the policy group is the government since it has the legal authority under constitutional arrangements to make policy for education. Such authority does not and should not preclude wide consultation in the manner illustrated throughout.

In the non-government setting, systems of independent schools will find the collaborative management cycle applicable to their operations where policy is determined by a board or council.

Policy formulation and resource allocation at the national level

It is not the intent here to demonstrate either the existence or desirability of a collaborative management cycle at the national level. The link between policy formulation and resource allocation is discussed, however, in the light of evidence that the major resources in education, which are the subject of contestation and which are shaping the allocation of resources more narrowly defined, are indeed those related to culture and knowledge.

Earlier discussion noted the utility of the Collaborative School Management Cycle as a framework for the management of a participation and equity initiative at the school level. The knowledge and cultural resources of the school are intended to be the focus of change which results from such an intiative. This is also the case with other programs administered by the Commonwealth Schools Commission, including Primary Basic Learning, Computer Education, English as a Second Language, Disadvantaged Schools, Special Education, Multicultural Education, Ethnic Schools, Country Areas, Residential Institutions, Severely Handicapped and Professional Development.

Underlying recent Commonwealth intiatives is a clearly articulated set of public values set out originally in the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission (Karmel 1973). The committee was established in response to what were seen as three serious deficiences in schools: lack of resources, inequality of opportunity for education, and shortcomings in the quality of education. The recommendations of the committee were shaped by seven values which, as has been demonstrated in a recent UNESCO study (Hughes, Corson & Caldwell 1985), are evident in the policies of the Commonwealth government and in the financial arrangement for schools through grants of the Commonwealth Schools Commission. These values are devolution of responsibility, equality of opportunity for schooling, diversity in forms of schooling, the right of parents to educate their children outside government schools, community involvement, retention of the special purposes of schools and recurrent or lifelong education.

It is interesting to observe that the Collaborative School Management Cycle, which is offered as a framework for managing the major educational resources of knowledge and culture, had its origins at Rosebery District High School as a result of a Commonwealth initiative in the Disadvantaged Schools Program which highlighted the values of devolution of responsibility, equality of opportunity and community involvement. This school's attempts to cope with more complex funding arrangements for schools, many of Commonwealth origin, led it to an approach to resource allocation which focused on curriculum and learning; that is, the resource of knowledge. The culture of the school now embodies the values of the Commonwealth initiative.

In looking to the future in their UNESCO review, Hughes, Corson & Caldwell noted that what was needed in education was:

> . . . a combination of clarity and flexibility: In Australia, clarity has been enhanced through the setting of national priorities and flexibility is being achieved through improving the effectiveness of policy making and planning at the school level in a framework of increasing decentralisation. The constitutional role of the States is maintained but with a shifting focus, setting the framework of

> policy and accountability but essentially supporting what occurs at the most important interface of all—between pupil and teacher, between learner and learning experience.
>
> (Hughes, Carson & Caldwell 1985, pp. 95–6)

Summary of the major themes

The major resources of the school are its culture and the knowledge which provides the focus for its teaching and learning program. Resources viewed narrowly in the traditional sense of time, space, money, people and equipment are but the means to achieve ends as far as knowledge and culture are concerned. These ends are the subject of contestation among individuals and groups in the school community, with decisions as to what constitutes knowledge and culture being the outcome of a process of negotiation. What is sought, as far as schools are concerned, is a management process which embraces this broad, but appropriate view of resources, and which provides a framework for the conduct of negotiations to determine what shall constitute culture and knowledge in the school, and the manner in which resources, defined narrowly, shall be allocated.

A process titled the Collaborative School Management Cycle was described and illustrated. This process was identified in the Effective Resource Allocation in Schools Project as a feature of school management at Rosebery District High School in Tasmania, the school which received more nominations as a highly effective shool than any other in that state. This approach to school management is consistent with the broad view of resources and resource allocation which is the focus of attention in this course. It is relevant to a variety of settings, as evidenced by its adoption as the approach to school management in all government schools in Victoria. It also provides a useful framework for the implementation of a variety of Commonwealth-funded intiatives that have as their objective a critical appraisal of current practice. Such critical appraisal may lead to changes which reflect values that include equality of outcomes and community involvement in decision making.

The phases of collaborative school management are goal setting and need specification, policy formulation, planning, budgeting, implementing and evaluating. Each phase has a product which is characterised by brevity and simplicity, policies being a maximum of one page, with brief statements of purpose and broad guidelines to achieve that purpose. These statements are written in a jargon-free language which can be read and understood by all members of the school community. Program plans and budgets occupy a maximum of two pages, with similar simplicity of language.

Evaluation reports are one or two pages, according to whether the evaluation is major or minor in a cyclical approach to program evaluation. The processes in the Collaborative School Management Cycle are comprehensive, collaborative and continuous. They facilitate the negotiation about resources, and information is readily available to all members of the school community. Models for policy formulation and resource allocation, based on those at Rosebery District High School, have been offered for the guidance of schools with an interest in the approach.

A collaborative management cycle has wider application than the school setting. Illustration has been provided in the final section of how the support and assistance of schools can be afforded by persons at the regional level. The evolution of the approach at Rosebery District High School, and its subsequent utility in a wider dissemination and adoption effort, are evidence of the success of Commonwealth and State initiatives over the last decade which have placed high value on collaborative approaches. The focus has been on programs for learning, identified through this course of study as being shaped by the major resources in education of culture and knowledge.

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Readings

1

Competing values in educational policy and governance: Australian and American developments

William L. Boyd

Source: William Lowe Boyd, 'Competing values in educational policy and governance: Australian and American developments', *Educational Administration Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 4-21.

In educational policy and school governance in Western democracies there is a tense relationship among three central competing values: liberty, equality and efficiency. Although the three values in some ways are compatible, a substantial policy emphasis on any one of them comes at some cost to the others (Garms, Guthrie & Pierce, 1978; Okun, 1975). This paper discusses this tense relationship particularly in the context of the ambitious current effort to reform the Victorian Department of Education in Australia and relevant experiences in educational policy and governance in the United States of America. Along the way, the discussion will also necessitate some general comments about educational administration.[1]

In Victoria, the Ministerial Papers (1983) and the devolution of new powers to school councils have raised a host of new questions about the character of relationships among parents, school councils, principals, teachers, and higher levels of educational government. To concerns already prevalent in many places about what characterises and promotes effective schools and effective principals, new concerns are sure to be added about what constitutes effective behaviour on the part of citizens and school councils. Given their new powers, if councils behave inappropriately this will have consequences for the performance of their principals and schools. Thus, we need to think through the new roles and relationships, and need to ponder how effective behaviour should be defined and evaluated. What exactly do we mean by effective schools, principals, and councils? How should they behave? What should they accomplish? Furthermore, what should be the proper relationships between schools and regional and central levels of educational government?

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Competing values

To begin to answer these questions, it is helpful to look at the competing values that underlie educational policy and governance in our societies. In the simplest form, there is a tension between democracy and efficiency that permeates questions of organisational effectiveness, administrative behaviour, the relationships between citizens and professional educators, and the role of schools in society. Ultimately, this tension forces us to re-examine what we mean by *both* democracy and efficiency. Are the most efficient decisions for democracies in these increasingly complex times best made by the people, or by experts acting in their behalf? Put another way, can we afford the time required for democratic processes to "muddle through", or should we turn increasingly to the expeditious use of technical expertise to resolve complex issues (Boyd, 1975, 1976).

Education is a sensitive domain in which these questions of governance and administration are continually fought out. Unfortunately, as we have learned in our experiences in the United States, it is also a domain in which technical considerations of efficiency often drive out broader concerns for democracy (Callahan, 1962). As Richard Bates (1983a, p.11) reminds us, as early as 1902 the American philosopher John Dewey warned that "it is easy to fall into the habit of regarding the mechanics of school organisation and administration as something comparatively external and indifferent to educational ideals". But in fact, Dewey argued, the democratic ends of education cannot be achieved by technical means because of the nature of education as a social and cultural activity in which means and ends are closely related.

Education is also an activity characterised by disagreement about both ends and the means best adapted to attain them. This disagreement about ends and means ensures that educational issues will be political issues. And this disagreement extends to the so-called technical experts, so they in fact can't claim to know definitively what is "right" in education for the people. Rather, the people and the experts must co-operate democratically to decide what a society wants from its education system.

Still, because of the high costs involved in educational services, questions of efficiency come back to haunt us. In state-wide educational systems, such as in Victoria, what balance should we strike between *centralised* and *decentralised* notions of efficiency? The centralised notion of efficiency emphasises cost-effectiveness, control, and accountability. The decentralised notion of efficiency, now pursued by the Victorian Labor Government, emphasises social and educational effectiveness, democracy, and responsibility. Even if it costs more to pursue the decentralised notion, which is debatable, the claim is that it actually will be more cost-effective since it should produce greater social and educational benefits.

The tension between democracy and efficiency should be understood, more broadly, to involve a competition among emphases on liberty, equality, and efficiency. These three values are not the only ones at stake in educational policy, but there is some agreement that they are the most central and basic ones. Of course, some people call them by different names. For instance, in a remarkable essay entitled "Schools for Democracy", A.H. Halsey (1983) calls them individual choice (that is, liberty), economic effectiveness, and social justice. The most systematic discussion I know of on the competition among these three values in educational policy is found in the 1978 book by Walter Garms, James Guthrie and Lawrence Pierce entitled *School Finance: The Economics and Politics of Public Education.* This book presents one important American perspective on the three values, but by no means the only one.

The difficulty, of course, lies in the fact that conservatives, liberals, and radicals tend both to define and to understand the three values differently, and also place much different weights on them in importance. In general, conservatives place more importance on liberty and efficiency and less on equality; liberals strive for a precarious balance among the three values; and radicals are most concerned about equality.

Values, social policy, and educational administration

The idea of competing values clearly should be central to any conception of policy analysis, but until about ten years ago there was a widely accepted myth, especially in America, that one could have a value-free social science and technically neutral, empirical policy analysis (see Callahan & Jennings, 1983; Tribe, 1972). This conception of things, to which a few people still cling, suggests that *moral* issues can somehow be separated from the solution of *practical* issues. Indeed, it reminds one of the comment by the American comedienne, Elaine May, that she much preferred a moral issue to a *real* issue. The reality, in fact, as Bruce Jennings (1983, p.8) argues persuasively, is that "policy analysis provides a setting in which the ethical and epistemological questions inherent in the relationships among knowledge, action, and power cannot be ignored". This is one of the reasons why policy analysis, as I have argued elsewhere (Boyd and Immegart, 1979), presents – despite what "the empty seat" participants have said (Macpherson and Edwards, 1982) – an ideal unifying unbrella for the now fragmented study of educational administration.

The same kind of value-free technocratic conception affecting thinking about policy analysis has permeated mainstream thinking about educational administration even longer. Indicative of this has been the traditional attempt to separate education from politics in both theory and practice. But it can't be done. A myopic concern for generic administrative processes divorced from social and educational issues, not to mention from the reality of the chalkface, and a cheerful assumption that the "right" processes would somehow lead to desirable, but often vaguely understood, educational outcomes has left much North American writing on educational administration philosophically barren and peculiarly vulnerable to attacks from critical thinkers such as Tom Greenfield and Richard Bates.

By way of explaining this state of affairs, I can only suggest that scholars in educational administration have tended to be a rather conservative lot and, in America, have generally reflected the optimistic and benign view of our society and its institutions widely shared until the Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, and Watergate shook us out of our complacency. A critical view of society and its processes is still rare among American school administrators (indeed, it is likely rare among school administrators in any society), so there is not enough critical reflection by educators on the relationship between social and educational processes, their outcomes, and social justice.

American educators *do worry* about this relationship, but not generally from a Marxist perspective. Because Marxism has commanded little attention in America outside of narrow academic circles, books such as Bowles and Gintis' (1976) *Schooling in Capitalistic America* are more read outside the U.S. than within it. Indeed, I often think the most enthusiastic American Marxists are fans of the Marx Brothers films.

It would be a mistake, though, to conclude that American educators are unconcerned about democracy, equality, and social justice. Rather, their understanding of these concepts is generally within the liberal, ameliorist rather than radical, revolutionary conception of capitalist democracies. The current decline in attention to equality in the U.S. reflects in part frustration over the failure of rather massive attempts to break the nexus between poverty and social class background through large-scale, federally-funded compensatory education projects throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first Coleman Report (1966) and Christopher Jencks' (1972) book, *Inequality*, popularised the pessimistic view that schools really can't make much difference in the destiny of lower class children. Although this view faces an important challenge from the "effective schools" movement, social and educational priorities in the U.S.A. have now tipped more in the direction of quality than equality.

Before going on, I probably should say something further about efficiency, for although it should be self-evident why liberty and equality are important the very mention of the concept of efficiency makes many thoughtful people nervous, especially those in the humanist, egalitarian, and critical theory camps. (For example, Peter Gronn (1982) and others worry about "Neo-Taylorism" in educational administration). As Garms, Guthrie, and Pierce (1978) suggest, efficiency should be viewed as a *means* to the attainment of higher ends such as greater opportunity and individual choice (or liberty) through the most productive use of scarce resources. Although some may think that scarcity is just a mystifying ideological concept imposed on people's consciousness by capitalism (and here I am reacting to John Prunty's (1984) recent provocative monograph on educational policy analysis), it is important to recognise that many resources, not the least of which is peoples' time, are in fact limited even in non-capitalist societies. This fact forces *all* individuals and societies to make *choices* in how they use their limited time and resources. And they can't have their cake and eat it too; they must face up to the frequent need to make *trade-offs* between competing desirable uses of resources and opportunities.

The whole purpose of policy analysis, of course, is to assess the consequences of choices among alternative courses of action. And in this respect many scholars agree that the central concept in policy analysis is the notion of "opportunity costs", that is, the highest valued opportunity given up or foregone as a consequence of a choice or policy decision. Thus, even the most enlightened, socially-critical analyst or policy-maker, concerned above all with social justice, will face the need to assess and choose between various possible emancipatory policies that differ in their short and long run benefits and costs, such as their effects on different groupings of disadvantaged people in society. Like it or not, all policies have shortcomings, but some turn out to be more efficient than others, though we might like to find another name for efficiency since the term now carries mechanistic, de-humanising connotations for many people.

Balancing competing values

To return to the general theme of this paper, there now are major efforts in both Australia and the United States to re-adjust the balance among the competing values of liberty, equality and efficiency in each country's educational system. Change or reform in school systems, of course, usually is prompted by pressures generated by changing social and economic conditions. As I have argued elsewhere, in stark contrast to the period of prosperity, growth and school system expansion following World War II, educators in most western democracies now are confronted simultaneously with four kinds of decline: declining enrolments, declining economic-budgetary circumstances, declining public confidence in schooling, and a declining legitimacy of administrative authority (Boyd, 1983). As a result of these developments, a fundamental reassessment of educational policy and management is underway in many settings.

In the face of a need to respond to these diverse problems, reforms that are proposed may seek both to *tighten* up the system, through measures to increase accountability, performance, and efficiency, and at the same time *loosen* the system, through steps to increase participation and legitimacy via broader involvement in the policy-making process. Such a dualism is quite evident in the 1980 White Paper on Victorian Government Schools and the PA Report (1981) which followed it. The question, as both Bates (1983b) and Selleck (1983) ask incisively, is whether it is possible to simultaneously implement such potentially contradictory reforms.

What is at issue here is the perennial tension between centralisation and decentralisation in government. In pursuit of greater school effectiveness and more accountability and control over school performance, measures which increase standardisation and centralisation are attractive. Yet, the legitimacy and responsiveness of schools and administrators, as well as aspects of their effectiveness, seem to depend upon some degree of decentralisation permitting parental and teaching staff participation in shaping the educational program.

The difficulty, of course, is to achieve and maintain governmental arrangements and policies that strike a desirable balance between the advantages (and disadvantages) of centralisation and decentralisation. An article by Jerome Murphy (1980) comparing trends in American and Australian education is instructive here. Although Murphy notes that the two nations are moving in opposite directions on the question of centralisation, they actually are both seeking a better balance between the strengths and weaknesses of centralisation and decentralisation. As Murphy (1980, pp.24-25) says,

> Australia's centralised system fostered equality of school funding (more than in America), and professional, efficient, stable, co-ordinated operations that generally met uniform standards. But it also promoted a closed, insulated, inbred bureaucracy, and it stifled diversity, choice, and responsiveness – thus leading to some of the current pressures for decentralisation. America's decentralised system fostered greater diversity, parental involvement, and openness. But it also promoted inequality, parochialism, fragmentation, and segregation, thus leading to some of the pressure for greater centralisation. This pattern suggests that no solution is stable over time as long as competing values are at play – which seems even more likely in the future as the proliferation of educational actors and interests continues in both countries.

American developments

Let me say now a bit more about developments in American education, particularly as they have implications for the Victorian reform effort and other similar efforts across Australia. After nearly two decades of emphasis on equality in American education, attention now has shifted to a concern for quality, though within a context of at least rhetorical recognition of the need to maintain or improve equality of educational opportunity. This shift reflects the dilemma framed in John Gardner's book of the 1960s entitled *Excellence*, in which he asked, but answered affirmatively, the question, "Can we be equal and excellent too?"

Many factors have precipitated the growing concern for quality. Particularly important, I think, is the combination of adverse publicity about declining student achievement test scores and mounting anxiety that the U.S. is losing its technological leadership in the world. America's "smokestack" industries are in disarray, its economy and work force requirements are changing, and it is not clear that the U.S. is retaining its technological edge in the new electronic industries. All of these fears are captured in the title of the recent book, *Japan as Number 1*.

Along with declining test scores, there is concern about the declining quality of persons going into teaching in the United States. This decline in the quality of teaching personnel is hardly surprising since schooling is seen as a declining industry with shrinking career opportunities as a result of declining student enrolments. In an effort to improve the quality of performance by both teachers and students, there now are major efforts in progress to reinvigorate teaching by restructuring the career ladder and incentives operating in the profession. Thus, there are many proposals now for the creation of a system of ranks for teachers to progress through, and for merit or performance-based pay for teachers to replace the existing lock-step, seniority-based pay system, which is blind to teacher performance. Unlike Victoria, little attention is being given to school-based democratic management as part of the solution.

This is largely because of the way the problem is being conceptualised, which in turn reflects the pervasiveness of the free market metaphor in American policy analysis. Thus, problems in the quality of American public schools are now frequently seen to be connected to the near monopoly status these schools enjoy. Apart from the Catholic schools, which tend to be concentrated in a few regions and urban areas, American public schools face little competition from non-public schools. There is nothing like the network of elite private schools that invigorates (or should I say, debilitates) Australian education. As a result, U.S. public schools often present parents with Hobson's choice: take it or leave it. You may ask, how can this be the case when we are supposed to be pioneers in the democratic local control of schools?

The answer, I'm sorry to say, is that local control of American schools has been substantially eroded. And in the forces that have produced this erosion we may find some important warnings for the commendable effort to reform Victorian state schooling. Among scholars in the United States there is a profound sense of pessimism about the reality of local control as it now stands. A host of factors, elegantly summed up in an article by Norman Kerr (1964), tend to trans-form local school district policy-making boards into rubber stamps for the legitimation of the preferred policies of local school administrators. Although I have shown elsewhere (Boyd, 1975, 1976) that this argument is frequently overdrawn, it is certainly true that school administrators hold, and often exercise, strategic advantages over lay persons in the policy-making process as a result of their expertise, control over relevant information, and ability to manipulate the definition of issues and their solution. Moreover, on top of the constraints on the ability of citizens to define and solve issues at the local school district board level, there has been a tremendous growth, over the last twenty years, of regulations and constraints on the discretion of local school board decision-making emanating from external agencies, such as courts and and education departments at the state and federal level (van Geel, 1976).

The result of all this is such a sense of loss of local control that when I began an article on "Local Influences on Education", for the fifth edition of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, I opened it by saying, "Perhaps the first question to ask about local influences on education is, are there any?" (Boyd, 1982). I answer this question affirmatively, but conclude that most of the local influences that remain, after all the erosion that has occurred, are ones that tend to have a conservative effect on school policy.

In reaction against the monopoly pathologies of American public schools, and in the temper of neo-conservative opinion that has gripped many intellectuals, proposals for school reform often advocate the introduction of market mechanisms to encourage responsiveness to consumers and to advance choice and diversity. Although we are familiar with market failure, the failure of government, or "non-market failure", in this case by government schools, now encourages consideration of market-type solutions (Wolfe, 1979). The "Great Society" envisioned by liberal sociologists, which fired the controversial reform efforts of the 1960s, has been replaced by what might be called a "Fragmented Society" view of economists, who stress the need to design policy to harness the energy of "self-interest maximising individuals".

To a considesble extent, it is indeed possible to craft policies, as the economist Charles Schultze (1977) has urged, to enable "the public use of private interest". But it is far from clear whether proposals for educational voucher plans or tuition tax credits could ever be designed in a way that would truly serve a broad conception of the public interest. While such plans would create competition for our complacent public schools, by encouraging dissatisfied parents to move their children to private schools, the result, rather than re-vitalising our public schools, would likely weaken them, and further divide our society, by draining off upper-middle class children, and with them the articulate and politically important support of their parents (Hirschman, 1970).[2]

We then would end up with two separate and unequal school systems: one private and elite and the other public and mediocre, or at least perceived to be so in comparison to the elite system.

This, at least in Victoria, I regret to say, is what many Australians tell me they have, and testify to their belief by sending their children overwhelmingly to non-government schools. Indeed, I've never been anywhere else where I met so many people that send their children to non-government schools.[3] Of course, I've already admitted that our government schools are now often viewed as mediocre, so Australians can take some ironic consolation in the fact that they at least have a successful system of elite schools, which we lack – but which I think we are well off without.

Why well off without them? Egalitarians know the answer to this question, but in the temper of the times in America we have been toying with measures that could potentially undercut our public school system and be socially divisive. Generally, we have thought they were measures that could improve the public schools or at least increase liberty, choice and diversity. But my opportunity to see the workings of the Australian educational system has helped me to see what David Tyack (Tyack and Hansot, 1982) and others have been trying to tell us about the importance for the common good of a strong public school system.

What has happened to many of us is just what the advocates of *value-critical* policy analysis (Rein, 1983) warn against: the pervasive paradigm of the "self-interest maximising individual" so popular in American policy analysis today tends to erode and deflect attention from the value of *community*. In arguing for an *interpretive*, rather than *positive*, approach to policy analysis, Bruce Jennings (1983, pp.28-29) makes this point quite eloquently:

> The notions of decentralisation, civic voluntarism, empowerment, and community are perennial concerns, but they have never played a central role in our thinking about public policy; often, in the past, they have been totally eclipsed by other values and considerations. The history of American political and social thought is composed of two major and largely antithetical traditions: (1) a dominant liberal, individualistic tradition that views society as a field of separate, conflicting interests and human beings as essentially egoistic monads caught up in a competitive struggle for material resources and personal gratification and (2) a communitarian tradition that stresses the organic linkages between the individual and society. Many of the intellectual forerunners of contemporary interpretive social science were theorists who rejected the abstract individualism of nineteenth-century liberalism, and it seems clear that, in the American context, interpretive policy analysis would occasion a revitalisation of the older communitarian tradition.[4]

Non-government schools and the concept of community

Neither of our societies, I believe, has solved the riddle of how to achieve and maintain an optimum balance between government and non-government schools. In the United States, our public (or government) schools are too frequently in a near monopoly position and display many of the pathologies commonly associated with monopolies. In Australia, there is a growing sense that the balance may be tipping too much in the direction of the non-government schools (Davidson, 1984; Randell, 1984).[5] This, it is feared, could lead to such a decline in support for government schools that there could be a reduction in "the standard of public education available to the more disadvantaged sections of the community" who cannot afford private schools (Randell, 1984, p.7).

Interestingly, a visiting American Fulbright scholar foresaw this danger thirty years ago. In his perceptive and, as it turns out, prophetic analysis of Australian education, Freeman Butts (1955, p.22) warned that Australia's "dual system [of schooling] carries definite signs of danger". And he was quite sensitive to the problem of competing values. The difficulty, he said, was one "faced by all democratic societies, namely, how to strike a balance between the values of freedom and the values of common unity":

> The freedom of parents to choose private schools for their children should not be restricted by law, but, on the other hand, the common welfare should not be sacrificed to the growing differences that would split the society into permanently antagonistic groups. The point at which competing private school systems would seriously weaken the public school system and therefore the common welfare is a question that deserves continuing attention and discussion (pp.22-23).

At the time Butts was writing, it seemed to him that the trend at the secondary level in Australia was in favour of state schools. He anticipated that this might:

> lead the private schools to increase their claims for state financial aid in one way or another. If this is achieved I fear that the public schools will be weakened and the chances that they can improve their educational offerings will be lessened, to say nothing of the probability that class, religious and social distinctions will be strengthened in Australian society (Butts, 1955, p.23).

Now, of course, the private schools have achieved their state-aid goals and the trend seems to be running against state schools. Moreover, in May 1984, only the emotional issue of immigration quotas outranked education – and especially the distribution of state-aid between government and non-government schools – as a divisive national political issue (Grattan, 1984).

Because of the high level of state-aid now received by non-government schools in Australia, there really are *two* publicly-funded systems, one *inclusive* (the state schools) and one *exclusive* (the private schools) in student admission policies. One possible solution to the tensions created by this publicly-funded, dual-system of schooling, suggested by Randell (1984, p.8), "might be for government and non-government schools to come closer together, through more regulation and accountability in the case of non-government schools and the encouragement of a parallel diversity in government schools so that they become more responsive to their clients". On this count, Richard Bates has suggested (see Andrews, 1984) that, rather than debating the amount of state aid that should be allocated to government and non-government schools, Australia should decide on the *principles* that should underlie state aid. In his view, there should be a relationship between public funding and public participation. This means that in non-government schools that accept state aid (1) access to their student bodies should be available to all that desire it, irrespective of ability to pay, and (2) that the governance of these non-government schools, like that of government schools, must involve parents and be responsive to their wishes. This suggestion raises the question of whether the non-government schools could retain the characteristics that make them attractive to parents if they were more constrained by regulations, especially regarding the selection of their student bodies.

Non-government schools clearly enjoy many advantages over government schools in their ability to create an effective climate for learning. They can freely select both their student body and their staff and headmasters. They can pursue a distinct and clearly focused educational program and more easily maintain standards of behaviour, discipline, and academic emphasis. They can avoid many of the tough educational problems state schools must face. As a result, they can more easily have a clear sense of identity, purpose, and accomplishment. The social climate which results can facilitate the pursuit of excellence. By contrast, it is alleged that too many state schools are characterised by atmospheres of low expectations and aspirations, and by a pervasive attitude encouraging mediocrity: the "cutting down the tall poppies" syndrome.

In many ways, government schools, while retaining their vital public interest functions, can learn much from non-government schools. We must ask *why* parents are tending to prefer private schooling and try to correct perceived deficiencies in government schools. State schools should be made so good that parents will *choose* to send their children to them. Many Australians agree that industrial action by teachers, movement away from traditional academic schooling and codes of behaviour, and excessive turnover of staff and administrators in state schools are key factors in the mood against government schools.

The great difficulty with non-government schools is their elite image and their potential for divisive social consequences. Of course, the private school sector in Australia actually breaks down into a *private elite* and a *private alternative* school sector. The latter is composed of most of the Catholic schools and some less wealthy and less selective independent schools. Certainly, parents should have the right to pursue their religious convictions by sending their children to parochial schools. But, the net effect of the strength and status of the private school sector in Australia, and particularly the non-Catholic portion of it, is to create an elite image against which the government schools are perceived, rightly or wrongly, to be second-class institutions.

Moreover, the non-government school sector, whether elitist or not, drains off such a high proportion of Australian upper-middle class children as to erode political support for state school funding and quality, maintain strong social class barriers, and weaken state schools in terms of their student bodies' academic and intellectual orientation. Thus, students in state schools may suffer from the lack of a social and peer group climate conducive to intellectual achievement and the maximisation of their individual and societal potential. All of this works against the public interest and detracts from a broadly shared sense of community.[6]

Democracy, community, and school-based management

Thus, it is precisely the Labor Government's emphasis on community and true democracy in school councils and school-based management that makes the Victorian reform effort so exciting at this time. Developments are in progress that could bring reality to Freeman Butts' speculation of thirty years ago:

> The organisational structure of school committees and school councils is already well developed in some states. Perhaps if they were given more responsibility and more authority, or if they sought such powers, a great step toward changing *state* schools into genuine *public* schools might be achieved (Butts, 1955, p.30).

Yet, as most people recognise, there are a host of obstacles to be overcome if the goals of the Ministerial Papers are to be realised. A vital first step is being taken in the plan to significantly empower school councils. With the exception of some scattered experiments with school-based management, the American approach to school government essentially stops at the level of the school district and fails to reach down adequately to connect the local school and its community into the policy-making process. This is what the new Victorian school councils are supposed to do, and can do, *if* all relevant actors rise to the occasion. But to do this, many people are going to have to change their attitudes and modes of behaviour, and this obviously applies wherever reforms of this type are tried.

First, consider school principals and their relationship with their teaching staff. The time has come and gone when principals could hope to be effective by behaving like czars. When Winston Churchill spoke of headmasters having "powers at their disposal with which prime ministers have never yet been invested", he must have been unfamiliar with the kind of thing that happened in Melbourne early in 1984 to the headmistress of Presbyterian Ladies College. (She was sacked by her Board of Trustees despite nearly unanimous public support from her students' parents.) Churchill also spoke at a time prior to the reaction against administrative authority that is so characteristic of the current age.

Indeed, the severe limits on school principals' ability to command that things get done have become painfully clear to us over the past twenty years of reform efforts in the United States. As Dean Acheson said about America's involvement in Vietnam, we now can say about autocratic management: "It is worse than immoral, it's a mistake". Thus, whatever your politics and philosophy, some form of participatory management increasingly seems the only viable route open for successful school administration.

Even if principals and teachers can achieve a positive, collaborative relationship, however, the big question for Victoria, as elsewhere, is, can the professional educators throughout the system, from top to bottom, really tolerate and encourage the kind of lay participation in the policy-making process that is called for? Sadly, history is not encouraging on this point. For instance, a 1981 book edited by George Baron, and entitled *The Politics of School Government*, reports on efforts in twelve countries, including the U.S. and Australia, to establish school councils to foster citizen participation in school policy-making. As Baron (1981, p.280) concludes, "the mood [of the reports] is mainly one of hopes frustrated". There are two main reasons for this, says Baron (1981, pp.280-281):

> the strength of the opposition to school councils taking on any substantial role and the lack of support given them in many cases by those whom they were intended to serve. Opposition has come from the teacher unions, from political elites and established political parties and from administrators at central and local levels. Opposition from teacher unions is to be noted in some form in all the studies presented in this volume. In Australia [as reported in a chapter by Phillip Hughes] it resulted in the effective blocking of any attempts to set up school councils in New South Wales and [blocked] the intended participation by school councils in staff appointments in the Australian Capital Territory.

In sum, says Baron (1981, p.283), "the overall impression . . . is that there has been a slackening of interest in school councils almost from the moment when they have been instituted or remodelled".

It seems very clear that teachers' unions are both part of the problem and a key to its resolution. Hopefully, the Victorian unions will play a more constructive role than that played by the Teachers' Federation of New South Wales in the past. Certainly, Victoria has some remarkably progressive union leaders, like Bill Hannan, who have in fact championed much of the movement for decentralisation and devolution. Similarly, in the U.S. our most powerful teacher unionist, Albert Shanker, of the American Federation of Teachers, despite his rather ferocious public image – he has, for example, been portrayed by the rival union, the National Education Association, as a man who "brushes his teeth with gunpowder" – has turned out to be one of the most imaginative, far-sighted and creative leaders in the current effort to improve American public schooling.

Parents too are part of the problem as well as part of the solution. How much do parents want to be involved in school policy-making? How much time are they prepared to spend on such matters? Will average people understand what is supposed to be done, and if they understand, will they want to do it? Victorians tell me that the reforms embodied in the Ministerial Papers, consistent with tradition there, are ones that have been *imposed* by the centre, not ones spontaneously called for by the people. Indeed, Prunty (1983) reports that many country people were mystified by the Ministerial Papers, but quite negative about what they did understand of them. Though the Papers seem written in clear, straightforward language, at times they are both vague and abstract in meaning. The reaction Prunty reports reminds one of Groucho Marx's comment: "Why a four-year-old child could understand this report. Run out and find me a four-year-old child. I can't make head or tail out of it."

Finally, it is clear, as suggested earlier, that school administrators are part of the problem and another key to its resolution. Research on American school politics is replete with examples of the diverse ways school administrators can, and often do, subvert or short-circuit the democratic process, though not always consciously (Boyd, 1976) – this even in a country where structures and a tradition for grass-roots participation have long been in place. In Victoria, reformers have to overcome one hundred years of highly centralised, bureaucratic control of state schools. What is called for ideally, as Peter Watkins (1983) has argued, is an end to hierarchy and the advent of "undistorted communication", dialogue and decision-making among equals.

This, however, is a very tall order in the world in which we live. When Watkins (1983, p.4) says that "a central thrust of educational administrators should be to correct these unnecessary, disabling distortions, which often reflect the interests of the administrator and powerful interests, rather than those of organisation members", he is essentially asking administrators to "shoot themselves in their own foot".

Schools for democracy and self-management

But the question remains, should we have "schools for democracy", as A.H. Halsey (1983), Peter Watkins, and others urge, or are we content to remain with schools that often exist mainly as the privileged preserves of bureaucrats, either central office ones or their local "street-level" manifestations.[7] If it is schools for democracy that we want, we had better look closely at the Yugoslav experiment in "self-management". Halsey (1983) provides a tantalising, but far too brief, and likely too optimistic, glimpse of the Yugoslavian experience. Charles Lindblom (1977, pp.330-343), in his important book, *Politics and Markets*, also provides a brief glimpse of the Yugoslav venture, but his account seems more realistic in that it reports problems as well as promise in the Yugoslav innovation.

In line with earlier comments about autocratic management, Lindblom (1977, pp.332-333) says that the movement for worker control and industrial democracy is fueled by the fact that:

> Traditional work disciplines are under fire: both market incentives (pay, promotion, discharge) and authoritative instructions. In this respect many contemporary business managers find a surprising kinship with Maoist thought on incentives, with its insistence that incentives of participation among others can to some degree replace conventional incentives.
>
> Some of the new interests in industrial democracy and participatory incentives arise out of a deeper challenge to a long-standing pre-occupation of social scientists and managers alike with co-ordination as the key to efficiency. Energy, resourcefulness, and inventiveness are increasingly argued to be grossly underutilised sources of efficiency. The reduction of individual and organizational slack through tapping individual productivity is now often alleged to promise a great deal more than increased meticulous attention to co-ordination. Maoist thought . . . is willing to trade co-ordination for resourcefulness, but so also are innovators in western business management.
>
> That worker control experiments are afoot in both the liberal democratic and communist worlds suggests that private property and private enterprise are not, as socialists used to believe, the principle targets of democratisation of the workplace. The target is instead a hierarchical and authoritarian structure of authority in the enterprise, whether resting on private property or not.

On the problem side of the equation, Lindblom (1977, p.337) reports some very familiar sounding difficulties in the Yugoslav experiment: "worker control," he says, "itself is often weakened by apathy as well as by a tendency for white collars to exclude blue from participating in the councils or for better educated blue collars to dominate councils and elections". Moreover, he notes there is the problem of "the sometime capture of the worker control system by management. Managers and their staff, armed with their own technical knowledge of the enterprise's affairs, sometimes reduce the workers' councils to rubber stamps."

Finally, Lindblom makes a very incisive observation that links the problems of worker control to the theme of competing values, in this case those implicated in the debate over centralisation versus decentralisation and devolution. Lindblom (1977, pp.337-338) says:

> A generic problem is the co-ordination of the decentralised enterprises. A root difficulty in any system of participatory democracy is that a high level of participation is possible only in small groups. But interdependencies prohibit giving each small decision-making group a license to go its own way. An enterprise is of concern not only to its employees but to persons, ordinarily far more numerous than its employees, for whom it produces a product or service.

Rather than relying on control by governmental bureaucracy, the Yugoslavs boldly invented "market socialism", using the market system to enable co-ordination of their highly decentralised workers' units. In Victoria, decentralised school-based management *will not* be co-ordinated by a market system but rather by a very large central bureaucracy. The question is, can that central bureaucracy really be successfully commanded to change its stripes? Many fear it will return to the mode of behaviour it has developed over one hundred years of experience. Indeed, some claim it has not yet left that mode despite all the reorganisation efforts.

But suppose, for purposes of discussion, that Victorian schools were given funds on a student per-capita and needs-based formula system and then were allowed to purchase from the centre the staff and materials, in the quantities and type, they individually chose to orchestrate their own preferred educational program. In light of the centrally-directed staffing problems at the opening of the 1984 school year in Victoria, this seems like an attractive idea. Such an arrangement would force the centre to move toward becoming the servant of the periphery, as is now intended but far from realised.

On this modest proposal, using a market mechanism to facilitate democratic school-based management — a synthesis of competing values inspired by the Yugoslav example — I end this paper.

Endnotes

1. The observations here about Victoria are based on the author's research during the first five months of 1984, while in residence in Victoria as a visiting Fulbright scholar at Deakin University. Data were drawn from documentary sources and from interviews with a wide range of persons including members of the State Board of Education, central office personnel, regional directors, school principals, teachers and teachers' union leaders, parents, and academics knowledgeable about the Victorian educational scene. The author is grateful to the many people who generously gave of their time and knowledge in these interviews. He also expresses appreciation for the vital assistance in his visit and work provided by Richard Bates at Deakin and Judith Chapman at Monash University.

   Five months in a country hardly makes one an expert about it, so much of what is stated here represents the major thrusts of what Australians themselves said about their educational scene. A three-week trip around the mainland of Australia and a later trip to Tasmania gave the author an opportunity to talk with educational leaders in all six states and the Australian Capital Territory. This provided a broader perspective in which to place the Victorian experience. The context of educational policy-making in Victoria is described well in Bessant (1980). Some excellent accounts of the general context of educational reform and policy-making in Australia are found in Beare (1981); Beswick and Harman (1983); and Hancock, Kirst, and Grossman (1983). The hazards of Australian-American comparisons are outlined by West (1983).

2. Hirschman (1970) shows that competition is about as likely to make government services get worse as it is to make them get better.

3. Grant Harman (1983, p.31) says that Victorian high schools:

   > are undoubtedly inferior compared to the better non-government secondary schools. They are also seen to be inferior by parents who send their children to non-government schools, and often too by many parents and students who support public education. I know of no other high school system in the world where so many of those who run the system, from senior officials to school principals and to class-room teachers, send their own children to non-government schools. It is no wonder then that morale and aspirations in high schools are low, especially when so many high school buildings confirm the message of inferiority or mediocrity.

   Although the dominance of non-government schools over state secondary schools is said to be especially pronounced in Victoria, the present author heard much the same message that Harman articulates from people all around Australia. At the very least, it is clear that academics and leaders in public education seldom send their own children to government secondary schools.

4. If the individualistic paradigm deflects attention from the value of community, it is also true that the communitarian paradigm deflects attention from the extent to which human behaviour is motivated, in large part, by self-interest. This was clear, for instance, to the great American political theorist, James Madison, who said that,

"If men were virtuous, there would be no need of governments at all", and argued that in structuring governmental arrangements "ambition must be made to counteract ambition".

5. See also the account in *The Age* (Maslen, 1984) of the speech made by Mr Justice Michael Kirby before the Australian College of Education, in which he "passionately defended Australia's public school system".
6. I do not mean to suggest by this discussion that America is free of elitism or social class differences. In primary and secondary education, more affluent families can buy into wealthier suburbs and gain access to outstanding public school systems, while less affluent families must make do with the public schools in the communities in which they can afford housing. We have made progress, however, over the past decade in reducing the disparities in educational spending between rich and poor communities. At the tertiary level, American higher education is not free, as in Australia, and we do have some elite private universities, most notably, the Ivy League schools, e.g. Yale, Harvard, and Princeton. But for success in most of the regional occupational markets in America it is neither necessary nor even always very desirable to go to an elite university. The many public colleges and universities, frequently with rather permissive entry standards, make higher education quite accessible for working class Americans.
7. This is not the place to make the case for how democracy in schools can enhance children's education (see, e.g. Goodlad, 1983), but it should be evident that seeing and experiencing democracy in action are desirable organisational and citizenship training for students. Moreover, there is a good deal of evidence that democratic involvement of students and parents in school decision-making can enhance students' sense of control over their destiny, which in turn seems to foster improved academic achievement, especially for disadvntaged students. Finally, democratic management should enhance teaching staff morale and performance, thereby benefitting students. But, it should be clear that democratic, school-based management is not a panacea by itself.

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2

Collective strategies: Collaborative approaches towards the administration of education

Peter Watkins

Source: Peter Watkins, 'Collective strategies: Collaborative approaches to the administration of education', *Unicorn*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1985, pp. 105–113.

The implementation of participative, democratic decision-making in Victorian state schools and educational communities has become a feature of the moves toward a developed, grassroots form of educational administration in Victoria. Administration of education through collective strategies has meant, for example, a reconceptualisation of the role of principal and the ways schools are run. This paper outlines some of these changes and their philosophical bases which are exemplified by the recent six Ministerial Papers on education in Victoria. These papers signify a move away from a traditional hierarchical structure of control to one which emphasises the democratic process which is inherent in a collaborative, participatory community.

This paper outlines the increasing importance of collaborative and participatory decision-making in the development of collective strategies within the administration of education in Victoria. In this context the formulation of collective strategies may be seen as the joint conception of policy and the implementation of its practice by the educational community (see also Astley, 1984). The development of educational administration based on such participatory, democratic processes would bring decision-making in line with the political rhetoric of our present society which celebrates the ideals of democratic participation. Indeed it can be argued (Watkins, 1985) that the often autocratic and hierarchical nature of decision-making in schools contrasts with and contradicts the democratic values which are at the foundations of our society. But the creation of collaborative practices in schools would enhance those democratic values as members of the school community would carry more participative, interactive and collaborative human experiences into the political arena.

Such a grassroots involvement in the decision-making process has been growing in Victoria since 1982 with the advent of the Labor government. The government moved away from the recommendations of the Report of PA consultants of Australia which advocated a line authority, top down control structure, to the former Liberal government. Instead the Labor government has sought to put in place a grassroots democratic decision-making structure as is envisioned in Labor Party Policy. In such an administrative structure educational organisations are seen as democratic, not autocratic. Decision-making as a result becomes collaborative and open with maximum participation, independent of direct Ministerial control and free from bureaucratic domination. The administration of education developing in this milieu acknowledges that all members of the education polity have a right to share in the formulation and implementation of any decision which may have a profound effect on them. As Williams argues, in any true democratic decision-making process "the principle is, and the practice should be that all decisions are taken by all those directly concerned with them (Williams, 1983:124), for "sustained effective decisions require positive general involvement and consent" (Williams, 1983: p.202).

Consequently, this short paper will firstly look at the recent statement on the Role of the Principal released by the Victorian Education Department. Secondly, the recently published six Ministerial papers will be examined. Lastly, the general principles of participation and community involvement in decision-making processes will be discussed.

The Role of the Principal

The development of grassroots participatory decision-making in school communities through the implementation of Labor party policies was recognised by Maddocks when he was helping to establish the Victorian State Board of Education. He wrote that with the development of a democratic mode of decision-making:

> "the principal will be a facilitator and a mediator, expert in examining and clarifying issues, resolving problems through frank discussion with opposing parties, leading to negotiated decision-making on matters affecting the work of students, teachers, parents and members of council" (1982:4).

Participatory decision-making involves the consideration of all members of the school community, pupils, parents, teachers, support staff as well as the principal, in frank and open discussions. In this way decisions may be democratically formulated which can be accepted by all participants in the decision-making process, ensuring their satisfactory and speedy implementation.

The emphasis on the principal as a facilitator and the development by the school community of collaborative participation in the administration of Victorian schools is well caught in the recent Victorian Education Department guidelines on the 'role of the principal' and the subsequent advertisements from schools requiring a new principal. In these guidelines it is clear that the principal should have the ability to respect and facilitate the collaborative, participatory decision-making processes involving and unfolding from the communicative interaction of the school community. Thus in Victorian schools the principal should, according to the Victorian Education Department:

> "facilitate effective communication and collaboration between staff, students, parents and the wider community; . . . facilitate links between the school community and the wider community for the benefit of the school; . . . foster collaborative and collective decision-making among staff; . . . facilitate an effective working environment for staff members" (Education Gazette, 5 July 1984, p.444).

Consequently schools in presenting their statements when advertising for prospective principals invariably stress that they want principals who will be one of a team, who will participate in and abide by the curricular and administrative decisions arrived at collaboratively by the school community. Thus Altona High School, for instance requires a principal who will be committed to:

> "decision-making processes that involve all groups of the school community in all aspects of school life" (Education Gazette, 5 July 1984, p.444).

Boronia Technical School states that the principal which it will hope to appoint will have "a strong commitment to democratic decision-making processes" (p.445). Eltham High School also emphasises that the person required as principal is not of the old dominant leader type, but one who will be part of a collaborative, participatory community whose decisions are not made by one person. Thus the school states that it:

> "has a strong commitment to participatory decision-making processes at all levels, actively involving staff, parents and students. The school council (7 parents, 5 teachers, 3 students) maintains close and harmonious working relations with the operations of the school via standing subcommittees for curriculum, finance, building and grounds, canteen and communications. The curriculum function is discharged by two subcommittees".

The development of such participatory, collaborative practices within schools would seem to herald the end of the autocratic head of the school who ruled both staff and students with an iron hand. In the democratic process administrative action would not arise from manipulation and direction but from involvement and participation. Through the development of a school community based on a strong commitment to democratic decision-making the exploration of the community through the manipulative and subversive tactics of those in powerful management positions would become more difficult. Gronn (1984) in a recent study of a school principal has detailed the techniques of manipulation and subtle coercion which were employed against the school community. As a respondent in Gronn's study remarked, the principal "manipulates the way he likes" so that "he always has complete control" (1984: 87). Behaviour of this type would seem to be inappropriate for contemporary school administrators in light of the expectations expressed by school councils as illustrated above. In addition the behaviour would only reintroduce tension and conflict in a period of increasing community involvement in the running of schools, collaborative decision-making, a genuine desire to redistribute power on a more equal basis in the educational community, and a general increased thrust towards workplace democracy in Australia (see Greer, 1984).

The statement on the "role of the principal" in the *Victorian Education Gazette* has also been reinforced in recent times by the *Conditions and Staffing Agreement* between the Victorian Education Department and the teacher unions. Especially in the post-primary area the Agreement sets out the conditions and staffing procedures under which teachers in Victorian state schools work. In schools details of face-to-face teaching time, supervision, organisational duties, extra periods and class sizes are dealt with by the school's Administrative Committee assisting the principal. The Administrative Committee is not an option to the running of the school, but must be set up to assist the principal in implementing the Agreement.

The Victorian Secondary Teachers Association (*VSTA News*, Nov. 1984) has suggested that an appropriate Administrative Committee would consist of the principal, deputy principal, the union branch representative and seven elected teachers. In most secondary schools this would be the most likely composition of the Committee. Moreover, it is also suggested that the committee should make its decisions by a simple majority vote. When a decision has been reached it should then be taken to the entire staff for ratification. If it is felt that the Agreement is not implemented in a satisfactory way then the Agreement Implementation Committee may be brought in to resolve any dispute. The Agreement Implementation Committee is part of the Industrial Relations Office of the Victorian Education Department.

The introduction of a Conditions and Staffing Agreement in Victorian schools has facilitated the increased participation of teachers in the decision-making processes of schools. Such a trend reflects the concern to promote co-operation, collaboration and collective strategies aimed at improving the effectiveness of education within Victoria. But more importantly these concerns have been sketched on a wider canvas within the six Ministerial Papers released recently by the Minister for Education, Robert Fordham.

The Six Ministerial Papers

A concern for the development of collective strategies has been expressed within the Ministerial Papers. They emphasise that the determination of educational policy for each school is a co-operative task which must be carried out principally by the school community itself.

Consequently in 1982, 1983 and 1984 the Minister of Education in Victoria has had published a series of six Ministerial Papers. These have been titled *Decision-Making in Victorian Education, The School Improvement Plan, The State Board of Education, School Councils, Regional Boards of Education* and *Curriculum Development and Planning in Victoria.* Significantly, the papers reflect the ideological stance of Labor Party policy on the democratisation and devolution of education. Indeed the first principle of Labor's educational policy states that:

> "Decisions affecting the operation of schools in Victoria should as far as possible be made at the local level by those immediately involved, rather than by a central bureaucracy far removed from the schools it is meant to serve" (Labor Party Education Policy, 1983: 1).

Such a democratic and collaborative approach to the administration of Victorian State schools is clearly indicated in the six ministerial papers. For example the State Board of Education is to furnish information to the Minister on:

> "appropriate policies and structures to ensure that decision-making is democratic, participatory, collaborative and constructive" (Ministerial Paper No. 3, The State Board of Education, 1983: 5).

These policies mean a commitment:

> "that parents, teachers, students, principals, administrators, and others closely involved in the work of education will all have the right to participate in decision-making

> processes. They come together as a group charged with *collective responsibility* of reaching agreement or coming to a decision on issues to be resolved. This participation in the education system will occur at the school, regional and State level" (Ministerial Paper No. 1, Decision-Making in Victorian Schools, 1983: 7).

Through this commitment, representative and democratic school councils:

> "will provide for the development of a consensus on goals and means in preference to the false security of authoritarianism" (Ministerial Paper No. 4, School Councils, 1983: 8).

However such calls for the democratisation of the administration of educational organisations and institutions are not isolated but reflect a wider worldwide, growing interest in industrial democracy, worker control and participative administration (see Carnoy & Shearer, 1980; Edwards, 1979; Levin, 1980; and Zwerdling, 1980).

The relationship between the organisation of schools and the organisation of institutions in the wider community is recognised in Ministerial Paper No. 6 which states that important educational decisions should be made within the school community. For:

> "Unless the school is a place where significant decisions are made it cannot provide a model which will assist in preparing young people for life in a democratic community" (Ministerial Paper No. 6, Curriculum Development & Planning in Victoria, 1984: 9).

Consequently, innovations like the School Improvement Plan incorporate the aim:

> "To encourage and support collaborative practices between parents, students and teachers in schools, and between schools and the rest of the system" (Ministerial Paper No. 2, The School Improvement Plan, 1982: 6).

However central to such practices is the general consideration that:

> "the structure of the School Improvement Plan must reflect and model its own principles of participation and co-operation" (Ministerial Paper No. 2, The School Improvement Plan, 1982: 6).

In this way, the implementation of the School Improvement Plan endorses a democratic concern with participation and collective practices. In an educational setting, this is of paramount importance for:

> "Some of the conditions surrounding people's lives are shared by other members of the particular groups to which they belong and are amenable to collective action. One of the tasks of the school is to assist students to expand their perceptions of the world and to explore, individually and collectively, the possibilities which lie before them" (Ministerial Paper No. 2, The School Improvement Plan, 1982: 16).

The philosophy expressed in these ministerial papers indicates the direction it is hoped that the devolution and restructuring of educational administration in Victoria should take. Currently, then, the administration of schools in Victoria is characterised by an impetus toward devolution, greater equality, participation and collaboration involving all the school community.

Reflections on Collective Strategies, Community and the Administration of Schools

The literature detailing the devolution of Victorian state education through the advocacy of grassroots administration stresses participation, co-operation and collaborative practices. Such practices are intended to enable the collective interests of the school community to be achieved. Such a community can offer its members support and strength within a society which often seems alienating and impersonal. Weber typified this impersonal, bureaucratic form of administration as an iron cage. He considered that:

> "No-one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise, or there will be a great rebirth of old ideas and ideals, or, if neither, mechanized petrification, embellished with a sort of convulsive self-importance. For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might well be truly said: 'Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved'." (Weber, 1958: 182).

To escape this iron cage communities such as those centering on schools need to reassert their human agency. They need to regain control and involvement in those decisions which may have some affect on them. The claim that only select people in the administrative hierarchy have the appropriate expertise has been discounted by MacIntyre as a fiction. He writes that:

> "Belief in managerial expertise . . . is one more illusion and a peculiarly modern one, the illusion of a power not ourselves that claims to make for righteousness. Hence the manager as *character* . . . depends for its sustained existence on the systematic perpetuation of misunderstanding and of belief in fictions. The fetishism of commodities has been supplemented by another just as important fetishism, that of bureaucratic skills . . . In the social world of corporations and governments private preferences are advanced under the cover of identifying the presence or absence of the findings of experts . . . the effects . . . have been to produce *not* scientifically managed social control, but a skilful dramatic imitation of such control. It is histrionic success which gives power and authority to our culture" (MacIntyre, 1981: 101-02).

Teachers, parents and other members of school communities have traditionally been kept out of the decision-making process because of the claim that they lack expertise. Such an assertion MacIntyre argues is fictitious. It is a fiction developed to legitimate the power and influence of those who make decisions over others on the grounds of their effectiveness. But the "whole concept of effectiveness is inseparable from a mode of human existence in which the contrivance of means is in central part the manipulation of human beings into compliant patterns of behaviour; and it is by appeal to his own effectiveness in this respect that the manager claims authority within the manipulative mode" (MacIntyre, 1981: 71).

However the use of terms like effectiveness and efficiency is highly problematic. One must ask what form should effectiveness take? and effectiveness for whom? In the absence of being looked at critically, emotive words such as efficiency and effectiveness can become to be regarded as goals in themselves and not as a means of achieving a particular set of circumstances. In the formulation of collective strategies it is the process of participatory democracy which is gained through the acquisition of practical knowledge that is the desired circumstance. What is not desired is efficiency and effectiveness merely obtained through manipulation and control. The empowerment through collaborative and participatory governance of those affected by any educational decisions may be at the cost of some degree of short term efficiency and effectiveness. Yet too often the quest for these attributes is only achieved through autocratic and authoritarian means which deny our allegiance to democratic principles and processes.

It should be apparent that it is important that the concept of community and participatory decision-making should be put forward to redress what has been seen as a trend towards bureaucratic domination and manipulation. To this end the movement towards collective strategies in Victorian education can be viewed positively although some sceptics may see signs of manipulation and cooption.

In the most positive sense the move can be seen as reflecting the political ideology of the Victorian Labor Government. Equity, collaboration and consensus can be best achieved through the democratisation of the administration of schools. Through the implementation of democratic processes within the administrative structure of schools, organisational democracy is not only placed in harmony with political democracy but also the political ideology of the Government gains legitimacy. In this way school community involvement becomes important for legitimating the political system.

Secondly, the considerable expertise and know-how of teachers and parents, often formerly in open conflict with a remote managerial elite, can now be openly recognised and also legitimated through this process. This ensures that a diverse number of people can contribute a wider spectrum of opinion and expertise than might have been formerly been put forward. The knowledge so accumulated can then be tapped and formalised into the school administrative structures. But as a consequence, it might be suggested, a much more subtle form of control might be achieved through co-operation rather than the threat of coercion.

Thirdly, there is the belief that personal involvement can improve motivation and performance. If teachers and parents, the school community, participate in making decisions, then they will become more involved and work harder both in the implementation of the decisions and for their success.

School democracy might also be looked at in a sceptical fashion, as a covert method of controlling formerly militant unions. From this viewpoint it could be argued that increased participation may be a means to reduce any union discontent and to minimise its effectiveness. By being actively integrated into the decision-making process teachers are less likely to act against any decisions for which they are partially responsible. This ensures a high degree of stability in what has been a highly volatile industrial arena. The resultant stable and predictable educational situation becomes a major achievement for politicians extolling a mandate for good industrial relations. On the other hand, teachers and parents come to view the school as a locus of community drawing all members into a structure of loyalty and co-operation. Nevertheless any covert consideration is inherently a double-edged ploy. For the democratisation of decision-making dilutes the power of the administratively powerful elite while giving teachers and parents a taste of what real power is like.

In discussing these issues it has become clear that any movement towards organisational autonomy in a democratically structured school requires an extensive resocialising process on the part of teachers and parents to ensure that more than mere rhetoric takes place. Members of the school community must learn to acquire the confidence, responsibility and autonomy to make decisions and yet to learn also to accept responsibility for their school and educational system.

Similarly, principals, deputy principals and Department officers, at all levels, should understand that regardless of their hierarchical position they must begin both sharing information with all levels of the educational system and accepting alternative information in a collaborative and consensual fashion. As a consequence both administrators, parents and teachers have to become accustomed to the use of democratic skills: conducting efficient meetings, analysing problems and making decisions effectively in groups. Such democratic activities require that no member of the group should be placed in a position of unequal power which might result in inequalities in practice and discourse.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at the changes which have occurred recently in the administration of education in Victoria. These changes have put into train the development of a devolved, grassroots form of educational administration. In this context the role of principal is seen as one of facilitator. The principal is one of the decision-making team who formulates and implements the philosophy and practice around which that particular educational community revolves. In addition in the actual running of the school, especially relating to conditions and staffing, the principal is also one of a team working with the Administrative committee.

The collective strategies of collaboration and participation have been effectively outlined in the six Ministerial Papers. All of these emphasise the importance of a democratic mode of decision-making being developed at the grassroots level rather than decisions being made by a remote, centralised bureaucracy.

Finally with the assistance of recent work by MacIntyre (1981) it was argued that claims for bureaucratic expertise and efficiency could be dispensed with as essentially fiction. In contrast greater participation by the school community in the governance of education fosters and enhances political democracy through the use of a wider range of skills and increased concern and interest.

Participation in the decision-making process of school organisations is important as a means of reasserting the agency of the school community in creating the organisational and educational forms in which they work and live. Such forms are not static but are being continually transformed as all human agents, pupils, parents, teachers, support staff and principal interact in the formation of social institutions whose structured properties are simultaneously the medium and outcome of their practices (Giddens, 1979).

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3

Reforming public school management and budgeting

W. I. Garms, J. W. Guthrie & L. C. Pierce

Source: Walter I. Garms, James W. Guthrie & Lawrence C. Pierce, 'Reforming school management and budgeting', *School Finance: The Economics and Politics of Public Education*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., pp. 262–298.

Local school districts came under increasing financial pressure during the late 1960s, with the advent of the so-called "taxpayers revolt." Voters who had usually passed school district budgets and bonds increasingly began to reject them. At first, this widespread rejection of school budgets was blamed on dissatisfaction with local property taxes and the inequities of state school finance systems. Consequently, much effort was exerted to reform state school finance systems during the early 1970s. Spurred by election defeats and judicial prodding, legislatures devised new formulas for distributing state money to local school districts in a more equitable manner. Many states substantially increased their level of state support for public schools as well. These reforms, it was hoped, would ameliorate the financial problems of public schools.

The fiscal problems of schools did not disappear, however. State school finance reform dealt only with the revenue side of school finance; it did little to control the rising costs of public education. In fact, state reform often increased costs by raising minimum standards and mandating new educational programs.

San Francisco provides an example of how rapidly school costs have risen in recent years. From the 1969-70 to the 1975-76 school year, per pupil costs in San Francisco rose from $1,108 to $2,323—an increase of more than 100 percent.[1] Controlling for inflation, this still represents approximately a 55 percent increase in per pupil spending over five years.[2]

The major fiscal problem facing most public schools, in other words, is that costs are rising more rapidly than school revenues. Voters are unwilling to increase local tax rates to meet rising school costs. State and federal governments are unlikely to provide enough funds to completely bridge the gap between rising school costs and the amount local districts can raise for themselves. Since some cost increases (such as teacher salaries) are an automatic result of inflation and wage increases elsewhere in the economy, the gap between school costs and school revenues can only be filled by saving money elsewhere, that is, by increasing school productivity.

At the same time the public began demanding more efficiency in schools, it also began demanding a stronger voice in local school governance. Local control of education, originally envisioned as rendering schools responsive to the people, hindered the professionalization of schools; it also obscured the state's responsibility for ensuring that every child receive a basic education. Thus, in pursuit of greater accountability and higher professional standards, the pendulum of school government swung back toward greater professional autonomy and stronger executive control during the period from 1920 to 1970.[3]

This centralization of public education inevitably tended to increase the distance between educational managers and the public, and at the same time had the unintended effect of making it more difficult for teachers to influence educational policy. As school systems increasingly came under the dominance of professional managers, teachers lost their ability to communicate freely with their superiors. Furthermore, teacher discretion over classroom procedures was eroded by management's efforts to introduce educational innovations. Public dissatisfaction with schools has thus been coupled with the growing alienation of teachers who find themselves being criticized for the failure of programs and policies over which they have very little influence. Recent demands for citizen participation and community schools reflect a desire to nudge the pendulum back toward greater representativeness.

We believe that the improvement of public education requires not only new approaches for controlling educational costs, but also renewed commitment to the education of young people by parents and teachers—those who are most responsible for their education. It is particularly important to increase the involvement of parents in the education of their children. Only they can provide a supportive home environment where learning is encouraged and continued after school hours. But we also must develop schools that are coherent and committed to teaching basic skills, yet have enough flexibility to reflect the character of individual communities. We need teachers who care and schools that are understandable.

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[1] During the same period, school attendance in San Francisco decreased by more than 10,000 students, which certainly exacerbated cost inflation in the district. For a complete analysis of the fiscal problems of San Francisco's schools, see James W. Guthrie, Walter I. Garms, and Lawrence C. Pierce, *The Fiscal Future of the San Francisco Public Schools,* prepared for the San Francisco Public Schools Commission, January 1976.

[2] According to the *1975 Economic Report of the President,* the general price inflator increased 35 percent between 1970 and 1975.

[3] See Herbert Kaufman, "Emerging Conflicts in the Doctrines of Public Administration," in *The Politics of the Federal Bureaucracy,* ed. Alan A. Altshuler (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968), pp. 72-87.

In Chapter Ten we examined school efficiency and the reasons why attempts to use private industry techniques have not enhanced it. Much of the analysis was theoretical or technical. The concerns of this chapter are more practical. It examines current school management and budgeting methods and offers a proposal for improving the productivity and responsiveness of public schools. We believe this proposal, which shifts much of the responsibility for managing public schools to the school site, affords the best prospect for reducing the fiscal and political problems of local school districts.[4]

Current Budgeting and Management Practices

In most urban and suburban school districts that enroll a vast majority of the country's public school children, management decisions are controlled by a district superintendent and staff. School principals and teachers have little to say about the development of educational policy or how district policy is implemented. The problems of centralized school management are best illustrated by examining school district budgeting.

SCHOOL BUDGETING

Much can be learned about the management of an organization by examining the manner in which it utilizes resources. For school districts, the budgetary process constitutes the primary mechanism for planning and controlling educational activities. Most people understand that budgeting affects teachers' salaries, quantities of supplies available to a school, and the kind of maintenance a school receives. What is not so readily understood is that budgeting also affects important decisions about what is taught, how it is taught, and who teaches it.

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[4] An earlier version of this chapter was presented at an education workshop sponsored by The Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in July, 1976, and was subsequently published. See Lawrence C. Pierce, *School Site Management*, An Occasional Paper, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1977.

The budgetary process not only determines which goods and services will be purchased and for what purposes, but it also reveals the most important decision makers in a school organization. To the extent that individuals or groups participate in the preparation of the school budget they reveal their relative influence on the direction of schooling. Through budgeting, individuals influence when, where, how, and for whom the district's resources will be utilized.

A school district's budget process is much like the central nervous system of a higher vertebrate. Although it is not highly visible, it nevertheless is the mechanism for coordinating and controlling most of the organism's functions. A school district's budgetary process is a logical target for efforts to achieve organizational reform.

DEVELOPING A SCHOOL BUDGET

The budgetary process consists of two sets of activities: (1) budget formation and (2) budget administration. Budget formation includes all the activities that determine how a district spends its revenues; budget administration includes those activities needed to ensure that budgetary decisions are actually implemented. Budget administration affects the efficient use of resources only indirectly, by ensuring that monies are spent as planned. Consequently, hopes for improving resource utilization must rest largely on efforts to improve the methods of *formulating* school budgets.

School budget formation means developing a plan for acquiring and allocating a district's financial resources. This plan is summarized in the school district's budget, which must then be approved by the community's elected representatives and filed with the state in accordance with state law.

A casual glance at the precise language and impressive detail of a finished budget creates the impression that public school budgeting is a highly rational process. Budgets typically discuss a community's educational needs and social objectives and assert that designated educational programs will accomplish those objectives in an equitable and efficient manner. However, this process is not nearly so rational as it looks.

In fact, public school budgeting is part and parcel of an often heated political process. The final budget for a large district reflects choices constrained by state law, previous budgets, negotiated agreements, and the political influence of key actors. Those choices may have little to do with the rational analysis of alternative means to accomplish the stated objectives. It is important to recognize the political nature of public school budgeting and to design the decision-making process to fairly represent those with an interest in education, including citizens, administrators, teachers, parents, and students.

KEY ACTORS IN THE BUDGETING PROCESS

The important decisions in public school budgeting are increasingly being made outside classrooms and school buildings. State legislatures and state departments of education currently exercise much influence and control over the school budget process. Through statutes and regulations, they prescribe budgeting procedures, budget calendars, budget forms, accounting procedures, and auditing requirements. Many states also place limitations on district expenditures, revenues, and indebtedness. A large number of states have collective bargaining laws establishing state supervision of collective bargaining. In some states employing extensive education codes (such as California, New York, and Illinois), many of the substantive budgeting decisions are dictated by the state. Often, state regulations establish the amount to be spent on children receiving categorical aid, and many states even specify the number of teachers required for each special education or early childhood education classroom.

At the district level, school district budgets are constructed by a small group of people in the district office. In most districts the superintendent and the business manager prepare the budget. In very large districts, such as New York and Los Angeles, there is usually a fiscal office with dozens of people involved.

In recent years, some of the superintendent's control over budgeting has been constrained by collective bargaining. Under most collective bargaining statutes, decisions affecting wages, hours, and other conditions of employment must be negotiated. The superintendent or a special assistant hired by the school board negotiates in private with union representatives on a wide variety of matters affecting the district's budget. The public, most teachers, and even school board members are absent from these negotiation sessions. Since as much as 80 percent of a district's budget is spent on personnel, the results of such bargaining sessions greatly affect school budgets. While participation in school budgeting was seldom widespread before the advent of collective bargaining, delegation of important budgetary decisions to the bargaining table has even further diluted the ability of principals, teachers, or parents to influence budget decisions.[5]

TRADITIONAL BUDGETING PRACTICES

The budgetary process begins with an estimate of enrollment and revenues for the budgeted year.[6] Enrollments are relatively easy to predict. Estimates of the number of new children entering kindergarten or the first grade can be derived from census figures on the number of live births five years earlier. The proportion of children who progress from one grade to the next is relatively constant; a district knows, for example, that 95 percent of current fourth graders will enroll in the fifth grade. Adding new entrants to those who remain in the system produces a fairly accurate prediction of enrollment. This estimate is important because a district's enrollment largely determines the amount of money it receives from the state, and in some states, the amount a district is legally permitted to raise locally.

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[5] For an analysis of the implications of public sector collective bargaining on the ability of the electorate to control its institutions, see Lawrence C. Pierce, "Teachers' Organizations and Bargaining: Power Imbalance in the Public Sphere," in *Public Testimony on Public Schools*, National Committee for Citizens in Education (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1975), pp. 122-59.

[6] Techniques for computing enrollments and revenues are explained in Chapter Twelve.

Revenue estimates depend on enrollments, the growth of assessed property valuation in the district, and a variety of assumptions about sources of funds. Federal revenues are difficult to predict because they can be changed so quickly by Congress; however, funds available through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the impact aid programs change only slightly from one year to the next. School district revenues received from the state tend to be more predictable than those received from the federal government. Knowledge of a state's financial situation suggests whether state funds will increase and by how much. Local revenues consist primarily of property tax receipts. These depend on state laws governing the taxes of local property, the growth of local property assessments, and the willingness of voters to support education.

Once enrollment and revenue projections are made, department heads and principals are usually asked to submit budget requests according to their particular needs. Generally, however, this "bottom-up" approach is inconsequential. Since a large share of a school district's budget pays salaries, which are usually negotiated at the district level, there simply is not much money left to respond to the particular needs of individual schools.[7] What money is left is usually controlled closely by the superintendent, subject to the requirements of state laws and local school boards. The result is a budgeting process that is highly centralized, with most decisions flowing from the top down.

Resources are usually allocated to schools in accordance with previously established rules or "norms," such as one teacher for every 25 students. Staffing norms might be adjusted for higher grade levels, for larger numbers of non-English speaking students, for handicapped students, or for compensatory education students. The point is that, no matter how sophisticated the norms, instructional personnel are allocated to schools on a purely impersonal basis. Likewise, the number of administrators, clerks, maintenance workers, counselors, and cafeteria employees is determined in the same manner.

A similar procedure is followed in nonpersonnel budget categories. A line-item account is established for each school, with a number of expenditure categories (e.g., instructional supplies, textbooks, supplementary books, transportation, health supplies, telephone, and office supplies). The amount placed in each school's account by the central office is usually a function of enrollment. In some instances, it may be a function of factors other than enrollment—e.g., the number of square feet covered by school and school yard may determine the number of custodians and the amount allocated for maintenance supplies.

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[7] For a detailed analysis of school district budgeting, see Donald Gerwin, *Budgeting Public Funds* (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

Under such centralized budgeting systems, the most crucial decisions involve the design of the norm tables. Once the norms are designated (usually by top-echelon administrators) and subsequently confirmed by the school board, the rest of the budget process becomes almost entirely mechanical. It takes only a clerk to translate a school's projected enrollment into the specified number of teachers, vice-principals, counselors, and custodians.

Once a school's allocations have been determined, there can be little or no flexibility in resource use at that school. It matters little if the principal and his staff would have preferred to have two teacher aides instead of the one new teacher the norm table assigned them because of an enrollment increase, or if they would rather have purchased supplementary books instead of textbooks.

In the best centralized systems, it may be possible to transfer a percentage of funds from one nonpersonnel budget category to another (e.g., from office supplies to instructional supplies). However, it is extremely unlikely that a principal would be permitted to "trade" an allocated vice-principal for three part-time teachers, an office clerk for a noon-duty aide, or a counselor for three teacher aides.

BUDGET ADMINISTRATION[8]

Budget administration is primarily a record-keeping activity designed to ensure that budget programs are implemented. The records deal with financial transactions: from whom and how much money is collected; to whom and for what purpose money is spent; how much money is required to carry out a specific function. Budget administration or accounting is a particular form of record keeping which classifies financial data so as to provide decision makers information for adequate control and planning.

School budgets consist of many accounts. An account is a financial record containing information about a transaction related to expenditures, receipts, assets, fund balances, liabilities, etc. For example, most schools have a textbook account and a salaries account. School districts have used at least three major budget classifications for expenditure accounting. The most widely used classification of accounts is called line-item or object-of-expenditure budget. This classifies expenditures on the basis of articles or services purchased. A line-item budget may be very short or consist of hundreds of separate entries.[9] Table 11-1 presents a sample line-item budget. The primary purpose of line-item budgets is accurate control over district expenditures. By increasing the amount of detail in the budget the superintendent and school board can greatly reduce the ability of principals and low-level administrators to exercise judgment over the expenditure of school funds. The obvious disadvantage of such a budget is that it reduces an administrator's ability to respond to new situations or to divert funds where they are most needed.

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[8] For a more detailed account of budget aiministration in public schools, refer to one of the standard texts on public school financial administration such as: E. M. Foster and H. E. Akerly, *Financial Accounting for Schools,* circular 204, rev's 1948 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952); P. I. Reason and A. L. White, *Financial Accounting for Local and StateSchool Systems, Standard Receipt and Expenditure Accounts,* Bulletin 1957, USOE, Handbook II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957); S. J. Knezevich and J. G. Fowlkes, *Business Management of Local School Systems* (New York Harper & Row, 1960).

A second classification scheme is called a functional budget. A functional budget reports data on expenditures in terms of the major purposes for which they are made. In 1972 the U.S. Office of Education proposed five principal headings for major expenditure accounts. Table 11-2 illustrates these functional classifications.

The advantage of a functional classification is that it is clearly understandable to the public. It enables citizens to compare the use of funds in one district with another, for example, in terms of the proportion of funds used for administration, instruction, and pupil services. Classification by major functions may not provide school board members with enough information on the effects of educational expenditures, however. Knowing the amount spent on administration may not reveal exactly how school resources are being expended. Consequently, most districts combine functional and object of expenditure classifications in their district budgets.

District functional budgets may also mask the performance of individual schools within a district. To facilitate comparisons, some districts organize the budget by schools or types of schools using a function-object budget. This provides decision makers with a finer breakdown of expenditures along with information on the effects of expenditures on program objectives.

In addition to expenditure accounts, school budgets also reveal the sources of revenue in a set of receipt accounts. Table 11-3 provides an abbreviated set of revenue accounts.

DEFICIENCIES OF CENTRALIZED SCHOOL BUDGETING

Centralized school budgeting emerged for several reasons. Budgeting is a time-consuming and tedious task, and many districts found it easier and less costly to coordinate budget formulation in a single office. Also, state regulations

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[9] Many accounting schemes are found in public schools. For illustrative purposes we have followed those suggested in National Center for Educational Statistics, *Financial Accounting: Classifications and Standard Terminology for Local and State School Systems, 1973*, State Educational Records and Reports Series, Handbook II, revised (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

TABLE 11-1

Expenditure Classification by Line Item

Account Code	*Major Line Item Category*
100	*Salaries*
110	Regular Salaries
120	Temporary Salaries
130	Overtime Salaries
200	*Employee Benefits*
300	*Purchase Services*
310	Professional and Technical Services
311	Instructional Services
312	Instructional Programs Improvement Services
313	Pupil Services
.	.
.	.
320	Property Services
330	Transportation Services
340	Communications
350	Advertising
.	.
.	.
400	*Supplies and materials*
410	Supplies
420	Textbooks
430	Library Books
.	.
.	.
500	*Capital outlay*
510	Land
520	Buildings
530	Improvements Other Than Buildings
540	Equipment
550	Vehicles
600	*Other objects*
610	Redemption of Principal
620	Interest
.	.
.	.
700	*Transfers*
710	Fund Modifications
770	Transits
790	Other Transfers

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, *Financial Accounting, Classifications and Standard Terminology for Local and State School Systems, 1973*, State Educational Records and Reports Series, Handbook II, revised (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 23–24.

TABLE 11-2

Expenditure Classification by Function

Account Code	*Major Functional Categories*
1000	*Instruction*
1100	Regular Programs
1110	Elementary Programs
1120	Middle/Junior High Programs
.	.
.	.
1200	Special Programs
1300	Adult/Continuing Education Programs
2000	*Support Services*
2100	Support Services–Pupils
2110	Attendance and Social Work Services
2111	Service Area Direction
2120	Guidance Services
2130	Health Services
.	.
.	.
2200	Support Services–Instructional Staff
2300	Support Services–General Administration
.	.
.	.
3000	*Community services*
3100	Direction of Community Services
3200	Community Recreation Services
.	.
.	.
4000	*Nonprogrammed charges*
4100	Payments to Other Governmental Units
5000	*Debt services*

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, *Financial Accounting, Classifications and Standard Terminology for Local and State School Systems, 1973,* State Educational Records and Reports Service, Handbook II, revised (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 24–27.

usually require a central controller to ensure that funds are spent and audited properly. Furthermore, having a single budget office makes it easier for a school district to deal with outside funding agencies. The federal government, private foundations, state education departments, and the Internal Revenue Service all require a variety of records and forms that can most easily be completed if all budgetary data are compiled by a single office. However, despite the obvious advantages of centralized budgeting, and the impact of external factors that

TABLE 11-3

Revenue Accounts

Account Code	*Revenues*
100	*Revenue from local sources*
110	Taxes
111	Ad Valorem Taxes Levied by School System
112	Ad Valorem Taxes Levied by Another Governmental Unit
113	Sales and Use Taxes
.	.
.	.
120	Revenue Received from Local Governmental Units other than School Systems
130	Tuition
140	Transportation Fees
150	Earnings on Investments
160	Food Service
170	Pupil Activities
190	Other Revenue from Local Sources
200	*Revenue from intermediate sources*
210	Grants-in-Aid
220	Payments Received in Lieu of Taxes
230	Direct Expenditures for/on Behalf of the Local School System
300	*Revenue from state sources*
310	Grants-in-Aid
311	Unrestricted Grants-in-Aid
312	Restricted Grants-in-Aid
320	Payments Received in Lieu of Taxes
330	Direct Expenditures for/on Behalf of the Local School System
400	*Revenue from federal sources*
410	Grants-in-Aid
411	Unrestricted Grants-in-Aid Received Directly from Federal Government
.	.
.	.
420	Payments Received in Lieu of Taxes

Source: U.S. Office of Education, *Financial Accounting*, State Educational Records and Reports Series, Handbook II, revised (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1972), pp. 25-27.

require at least some budgeting at the district level, centralized budgeting has a variety of deficiencies.

ASSUMES SUSTAINED GROWTH

From 1940 through 1970, school enrollments and budgets grew at historically unprecedented rates. Perhaps unconsciously, public school officials developed a philosophy of management built on the assumption of sustained growth. As a result, new, emerging problems, were simply dealt with by adding new school programs.[10]

Many school districts today face declining school enrollments and revenue limitations that have made growth-oriented management and budgeting procedures obsolete. New problems now must be solved not by adding new programs, but by redistributing existing resources to meet new requirements. Obviously, school district budgeting must play an important role in such a redistribution. The question is whether traditional school budgeting procedures are appropriate for this task.

Theorists of public budgeting are dubious about this possibility. Wildavsky's studies of the budget process conclude that each year's budget focuses only on the "add on" to the preceding year's budget, or base, which is considered inviolate.[11] Lindblom also argues that incremental budgeting is inevitable but bases his reasoning on the multiplicity of goals–and alternatives for accomplishing them–that make means-ends analysis of the entire budget impossible.[12] The "add-on" portion of the budget can only be determined by the political process. Good policy is whatever analysts and politicians can agree upon. Old programs, once implemented, are very difficult to eliminate because they have ready constituencies to argue for their continuance.

Other research, however, indicates that the budgetary process may not be so incremental as once believed. Natchez and Bupp in analyzing the Atomic Energy Commission's budgets for a 15-year period, found that while the total budget increased gradually, significant changes in program priorities occurred within the budget. These priorities were not set by the national administrators but were established as "the operating levels of federal bureaus–by program directors sensitive to their own clienteles."[13]

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[10] An analysis of budgeting in the federal government found that budgeting is largely incremental. See Otto A. Davis, M. A. H. Dempster, and Aaron Wildavsky, "A Theory of the Budgeting Process," *American Political Science Review*, 60, No. 3 (September 1966), 529–47.

[11] Aaron Wildavsky, *The Politics of the Budgetary Process* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964).

[12] Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of 'Muddling Through,'" *Public Administrative Review*, 19, No. 2 (Spring 1959), 531–38.

[13] Peter B. Natchez and Irwin C. Bupp, "Policy and Priority in the Budgetary Process," *American Political Science Review*, 67, No. 3 (September 1973), 963.

This study and others[14] suggest that budgets can change "from the bottom up" if operating personnel have sufficient discretion over program decisions and have sufficient funds available to respond to changes in client interests. This kind of discretion is not usually available in public school budgeting. Until more choice at the school site is available, school budgeting will remain incremental and will continue to be poorly suited to handle problems of declining enrollment and resource reallocation.

INCREASES EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES

One of the major flaws of centralized budgeting is frequently viewed by proponents of such systems as its primary strength. It is mistakenly argued that depersonalized, standardized norm tables eliminate discretion. With allocations based on an abstract set of decision rules, some argue, no element of racial or ethnic bias can seep into budget deliberations to warp resources and services in favor of a privileged or powerful segment of the school population. Under such a supposedly sanitized allocation system, predominantly black, Chicano, or low-income schools should receive the same treatment as schools populated by middle-class white students.

As persuasive as such logic may be, it has been too frequently proven inconsistent with reality. Findings in *Hobson* v. *Hansen* (discussed in Chapter Two) and various school comparability audits provide evidence to the contrary.[15] Intradistrict expenditure disparities are common and exist for many reasons. In a few instances, no doubt, systematic expenditure disparities within school districts have been a consequence of deliberate and malicious discrimination. In a few other instances, intradistrict expenditure differences have proven to be an unanticipated consequence of naive budget policies. For example, a decision to permit small classes for advanced courses in academic high schools at the expense of large classes in general curriculum and vocational high schools favors college-bound students. In such situations the term "institutional racism" appears appropriate.

However, by far the most common explanation of unjustified intradistrict expenditure disparities stems from a source other than prejudice or naiveté; this explanation is related to teacher salaries. It is the privilege of teachers to transfer from one school to another based upon seniority in the system. Teachers frequently perceive their status to be linked tightly to the social status of the students they instruct. Consequently, the path of upward mobility for teachers is from elementary school in low-income or minority-dominated areas to secondary schools on the district periphery, where there are more middle-class, academically oriented white students. As teachers accrue seniority, they sift toward

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[14] See John Wanat, "Bases of Budgetary Incrementalism," *American Political Science Review*, 68, No. 3 (September 1974), 1221–28.

[15] *Hobson* v. *Hansen*, 327 F.Supp. 844 (DDC 1971).

"desirable" schools, carrying with them the higher salaries they have earned for longevity in the district and additional course credits. The end result of such a migration can be a substantial disparity in instructional expenditures between races or income groups. And this can take place under the mantle of equity and fair play provided by such supposedly neutral abstractions as norm tables.

Even where centralized budgeting procedures lead to relatively equal expenditures among students and schools within a district, they may still impede or deny the essence of equal opportunity. By utilizing abstract allocation formulas, centralized budgeting discourages individual schools from matching their services to the particular mixture of their students' needs. It is quite possible that while one group of students may benefit from a particular mix of classroom teachers, counselors, vice-principals, and office clerks, another group of students might benefit more from fewer counselors and administrators and more teachers, teacher aides, and tutors.

Decisions about the correct mix of services and personnel for any aggregate of students are difficult to make under the umbrella of standardized, district-wide rules. A centrally determined mix will likely be suited to the majority and will probably not acknowledge that minority groups have systematically different educational needs. Without individually tailored mixtures of services and staff, it is difficult to accomplish anything more than superficial dollar equality among schools and students in a district.

This latter assertion is illustrated by the post-*Hobson* v. *Hansen* anecdote of a senior French teacher who was moved from one Washington, D.C. high school to another because her high salary was contributing to an expenditure imbalance. By shifting her to a school with lower per-pupil expenditures, school administrators were attempting to comply with Judge Skelly Wright's decision calling for dollar equality. However, the end effect of the transfer was to deprive one group of students of a French teacher in mid-semester. Moreover, no students at the school to which the teacher was transferred elected to take French; so she was assigned to clerical tasks and hall monitoring.[16]

CONTRIBUTES TO INEFFICIENCIES

Besides failing to assure equality of opportunity, centralized norm-based budgeting may contribute to serious inefficiencies in the operation of schools. This is true for at least four reasons. First, standardized budget allocation procedures inhibit efforts to tailor school services to the idiosyncrasies of individual students or groups of students. Some students may need extra reading or math instruction. Others may need individualized instruction in order to work their way back into the general educational program. Others may work better in large classes, or on their own in a school library. Educational efficiency is increased when instruction is tailored to fit students' needs.

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[16] This anecdote was related to the author by an individual closely involved with *Hobson* v. *Hansen*. For a detailed analysis of the district's compliance with Judge Wright's ruling, see D. C. Citizens for Better Education Report, "Equalization," Final Report NIE Grant #NE-G-00-3-0201, June 1975.

Second, current, centralized budgeting seldom provides incentives for teachers or school administrators to be efficient. Suppose a teacher develops a new career information system that saves the district the cost of several guidance counselors. Under the usual arrangement, neither the teacher nor the school principal receives a salary increase, bonus, or reward. Moreover, in most districts, savings in one budget area cannot be transferred to another area or carried forward into the school's next fiscal year budget. Consequently, there is no financial incentive to introduce new teaching methods or practices. In fact, if the amount saved is taken away from the school, there may be an incentive to maintain current expenditures.

The absence of diversity under centralized budgeting fosters inefficiencies of another sort. Education is, for the most part, an art; there exists very little scientific knowledge of the best way to teach mathematics or to organize a curriculum. In order to create a firmer technical base for schooling, we need to experiment with a variety of teaching methods. Only by encouraging many instructional styles and strategies can we hope to develop more productive means of schooling.

Inefficiency also results from centralized budgeting because crucial actors are for the most part absent from the decision-making process. By preventing school principals, teachers, parents (and, perhaps, students) from influencing the use of their school's resources, school district administrators transmit the implicit message, "You don't count." When such treatment is prolonged, the almost inevitable result is a diminished desire to succeed and a heightened tendency to blame someone else for failure. Under such circumstances, it is easy to understand the contention of New York City principals that they are not mangement personnel and should therefore be permitted to bargain collectively on the side of teachers (although at latest report, they have not offered to remit their salary differential for the same reason). They assert that most important decisions are made "downtown," and a reasonable observer would have to concur.

STIFLES CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Another flaw in centralized, norm-based budgeting is the difficulty citizens have in influencing the budget process. Many districts appoint lay members to budget committees and hold hearings on budget proposals developed by staff members however, these procedures still allow access to the budget process to only a few nonstaff people.

Principals and teachers have little voice in most budget decisions, yet when citizens and parents are dissatisfied with the education their children are receiving, they are likely to complain to these selfsame individuals. Of course, these complaints have little chance of influencing budgetary decisions made at the district level.

Even if citizens could participate in budgetary decisions, citizen participation in large districts could conceivably be counterproductive. In these districts, with their enormous range of demands, responsiveness would probably result in giving a little to everyone. Arriving at workable compromises under such circumstances would be extremely difficult. Furthermore, citizen participation in large districts is relatively costly in terms of time and effort expended and in relation to the probability of influencing district policy. The larger the district the smaller that chance becomes. This discourages urban residents from taking part in educational decision making, and prompts many, who can afford to do so, to move to the suburbs.

A Solution to School Budgeting Problems

For some school districts, centralized budgeting and management procedures have worked well in the past and still continue to perform adequately the function of allocating resources at the district level. However, for others, particularly those districts faced with declining enrollment and resources, traditional budgeting methods are no longer adequate. Rather than adding programs and spending more money, many districts have been forced to cut programs and budgets. Lacking effective procedures for relating how much is spent on school programs to the effects of those programs, such districts frequently fall back on such norms as "last hired, first fired," or "one counselor for every 250 students."[17]

Many of the programs adopted in the late 1960s to address the special educational needs of handicapped, bilingual, and disadvantaged children have been the first casualties of district fiscal crises. For example, recent financial shortfalls in the Berkeley Unified School District in California–for many years considered a "lighthouse" school district–have led to severe cutbacks in the district's educational program. Over half of the alternative school programs established in the 1960s have been closed, and many minority teachers hired in the early 1970s have been released.[18]

During periods of stable or falling enrollment, school districts need new budgeting and management mechanisms for controlling resource allocation. To cut costs and maintain program quality, districts must develop procedures for comparing the effectiveness of school programs and weeding out those that are least effective. The most difficult problem is deciding who should make the decisions about what should be kept and what should be deleted.

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[17] The second norm was promulgated by the American Personnel and Guidance Association and accepted by many districts without evidence of its validity. There are other equally unsubstantiated norms for the number of librarians in a school, the number of administrators relative to teachers, etc.

[18] Ralph Carib, "Berkeley's Big School Crunch," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 3, 1976, p. 4.

An alternative to centralized school budgeting is delegation of budgeting and management responsibility to the individual school site. Both school site management and vouchers rest on the assumption that public schooling will be improved if consumers are given greater responsibility for deciding what educational services are provided.

Although it would not offer as much freedom of choice as does the voucher system, school site management would offer consumers a greater voice in school affairs.[19] Even if we accept many liberals' scepticism about the responsiveness of the marketplace and the competence of families wisely to choose educational programs under arrangements such as the voucher system, consumers can still be given greater responsibility in education by increasing their participation in educational decisions. When a school's performance declines, school site management would encourage parents to change the program rather than simply withdrawing their children as they would in a voucher system.

School Site Management—A Strategy for Enhancing School Productivity and Responsiveness

School site management is a decision-making arrangement that would substantially increase the ability of parents and school personnel to influence school policies. School site management is not new. It incorporates many proposals for returning some school decisions to the individual school site while leaving others (such as the auditing function) at the central office. School site management is an intermediate solution between centralized school management and educational vouchers. Public provision of education would continue; however, there would be a major shift in the locus of decision-making responsibilities. State education departments, district school boards, district superintendents, and central district staff would lose influence in educational decision making, while principals, teachers, parents, and students would gain influence.

We believe that school site budgeting would solve many of the problems inherent in centralized budgeting, yet before we discuss these solutions we must explain how a school site management system would function.

THE ORGANIZATION OF A SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM[20]

THE SCHOOL SITE AS THE BASIC UNIT OF EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

The essence of school site management is a shift of decision-making responsibility from the school district to the individual school. Under current state laws, school districts are legally responsible for providing educational services. They are empowered to raise money and are the recipients of state school support funds. School site management would not remove the district's responsibility for providing educational services or its power to raise money or receive state school support funds. In order to provide families greater control over school affairs, however, important aspects of educational decision making would be delegated to the schools.

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[19] Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[20] The original discussions of school site management were held among senior staff

The reasons for doing this should be clear. The most important contact between school personnel and families takes place not at the district level, but at the school site. Parents and students are more interested in their particular school than in the district, and consequently, they are more likely to become involved at the school site. Furthermore, by dealing with individual school units, the opportunities for parent participation are increased, while the scope of problems considered and the number of people involved at any one meeting are reduced. It is thus easier to respond to parent preferences, and having to compete against fewer participants increases the chance of any one parent to influence school policy. Finally, school site management gives those educational professionals most familiar with a student's problems—the principal and teachers—greater responsibility for the education of children. The educational needs of children within a school and between schools are not always the same. The principal and teachers in a school are in the best position to respond to those differences.

One might reasonably inquire, "Is not what you say of the school even more true of the classroom? Why not employ the classroom as the basic management unit?" In an earlier era we might have agreed. However, today even at the elementary level, many students are in contact with more than one teacher during the course of a school day or week. Team teaching is increasing, as is the use of specialists, which makes it difficult to identify a group of students as the exclusive responsibility of one instructor. Thus, because the classroom is apparently too small and the district too large, the individual school becomes the most reasonable unit for primary managerial functions.

PARENT ADVISORY COUNCILS

In order to amplify parents' "voice" and to compensate for the overpopulation and resulting depersonalization of school districts, parent advisory councils (PACs) could be established at all school sites in districts with more than 1,000 students.[21] These councils would select and advise school principals,

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members of the New York State Education Commission, most notably Charles S. Benson, James W. Guthrie, Will Riggan, Roger Hooker, and Carl Jaffee. These ideas have also received widespread attention when adopted by the Florida state legislature and frequently are referred to as the "Florida Plan."

[21] The combined forces of increased population and vastly reduced numbers of school districts have substantially diluted the representative nature of school boards. The effectiveness of citizens' "voice" has therefore been badly eroded. This phenomenon

approve school site budgets, and participate in negotiations with teachers on details of the school's educational program. The number of PAC members would be proportional to a school's enrollment. Schools of less than 300 students might have a five-member PAC, while those of 900 or more might have 13 members. Regardless of school size, parent advisory councils should not be larger than 13 members.

The manner in which individuals are selected to serve on PACs is crucial. A first requirement might be that only parents of children presently enrolled in the school can serve on the PAC. Citizens without children do have school-related interests; however, they are probably best expressed at the school district level. Since nominations by principals or district school board members would be open to substantial criticism of professional dominance, nonrepresentativeness, and personal favoritism, those eligible to serve might be nominated by a nonpartisan caucus or through a petition process. For example, any parent obtaining signatures from five percent or 50 parents (whichever is least) in the school would be placed in nomination on the ballot.

Members of parent advisory councils would best be selected by an election. Although the electoral process never guarantees "true" representation and is cumbersome and time-consuming, it is better than any other procedure. Nominations by principals or district school board members are open to substantial criticism of professional dominance, non-representativeness, and personal favoritism. An appropriate term of office would be two years, with members permitted to serve no more than two terms. Terms could be staggered so as to provide membership continuity from year-to-year.

Since the principal appears to be the single most important component of a school's success, one of the most important functions of the PAC, not unlike the board of education at the district level, would be to participate in selection of the school's chief executive officer. It is possible under some conditions to have a capable principal and still end up with a "bad" school, but it is extraordinarily rare to find a "good" school with an incompetent principal. Even though there are few incentives for principals to encourage good teaching, they appear to set the tone of a school and to light the spark of excitement that spurs staff members and students to excel.[22] Therefore, if the schools are going to offer programs in keeping with client tastes, local citizens must participate actively in the selection of school principals.

PAC participation in principal selection could be either from the bottom up or by a "trickle down" process. In the "bottom-up" approach, the PAC

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is explained in greater detail in James W. Guthrie, "Public Control of Public Schools," *Public Affairs Report* 15, No. 3 (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Institute of Governmental Studies, June, 1974).

[22] The significance of the principal's position is described in Neal Gross and Robert E. Herriott, *Staff Leadership in Public Schools: A Sociological Inquiry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), and more recently by Thomas Sowell, "Patterns of Black Excellence," *The Public Interest*, No. 43 (Spring 1976), pp. 26–58.

would interview applicants and recommend a group of three to five acceptable candidates to the district board and administration, who then would make the final choice. In the "trickle down" approach, the central administration or school board would narrow the field to some limited number of acceptable candidates and then permit the school PAC to make the final choice. Whichever approach is pursued, the principal should be on a three-to-five-year contract, with renewal subject to PAC approval.

THE PRINCIPAL AS EDUCATIONAL MANAGER

Under school site management, school principals would supersede district superintendents as the most influential educational managers in American education. A principal would be accountable both to the school district for operating the school within state and district regulations, and to the PAC for tailoring the school's program to the council's policies.

Initially, there would probably be some confusion as to who controls a school. Clear assignment of responsibilities might prove to be the most difficult part of the transition from centralized district management to school site mangement. The principle is clear, however. If the school is the basic unit of educational management and its staff is held accountable for the service provided, then the principal must have adequate authority to make changes according to the desires of parents and the school council.

The principal, as representative of the PAC, would have discretion over three important areas of school management: personnel, budget, and curriculum. The authority to hire personnel is essential if the principal is to be held accountable for the school's performance.[23] The classroom teacher remains the critical link in the education process. Without the ability to hire and assign teachers, the principal would have little control over school performance. The PAC and members of the existing school staff may assist the principal in screening candidates and developing criteria for selecting among qualified applicants, but ultimately, the decision to hire is the principal's.

The principal would also be responsible for preparing the school budget for approval by the school council, and for the establishment of a school curriculum. School site budgeting will be discussed in a subsequent section. Curriculum decisions would involve negotiations between teaching staff, PAC, and principal. Initially, schools would undoubtedly find that state curriculum requirements and pressures from national accreditation and testing organizations

[23] For example, in a 1971 study of a large metropolitan school district Kittredge demonstrated that school sites at which the principal makes personnel decisions experienced noticeably less staff turnover, absenteeism, requests for transfer, and formal grievances. Michael H. Kittredge, *Teacher Placement Procedures and Organizational Effectiveness* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, University of California at Berkeley, 1972).

leave little room for curriculum innovation at the school level.[24] Over time, however, many of the state requirements might be relaxed to allow schools to develop their own educational curricula. Provisions calling for agreement among teachers, PAC, and principal on the curriculum at each school would be part of the district-level contract with teachers' unions or professional organizations. The principal would be held responsible by the PAC for implementing the school curriculum and any changes it deemed necessary.

SCHOOL SITE BUDGETING

School site budgeting would require a two-step budgeting process. First, school districts would allocate funds to schools and develop an accounting procedure to ensure that district funds were properly utilized. District superintendents and school boards would determine the amount of money available for public schools in each district. A total operating budget for the district would be established, then funds would be allocated to each school in unrestricted, lump sums. Each school would be entitled to a specified amount for each enrolled child. The district might want to vary the amount for different age groups, or for handicapped or otherwise disadvantaged children. Nevertheless, once district revenues and enrollments were established, each school's revenues would be computed by multiplying the number of students in the school by the amount available for each category of student.

The second step of the process, budgeting at the school site, would be more complex than at the district level. Two budget formats would be needed to obtain the best use of funds within a school. First, to ensure that funds are spent properly, the school would need a simple line-item or object budget that would indicate how funds received by the school are actually spent. Both state and district regulations presently require such information to protect against the misappropriation of public funds.

More directly usable for school site budgeting is a second format, a work-flow budget that measures how students are progressing through a course or series of courses toward some defined objective.[25] For example, if improving reading skills is the goal, then information should be collected showing each student's progress through the reading curriculum. Work-flow budgets showing the cost of moving students from one level of reading skill to another would enable parents and teachers to decide when and where to spend resources in the reading program. If it is discovered, for example, that 60 percent of each year's reading achievement is lost during summer vacation, the school staff and PAC may want to reallocate resources to summer reading programs. Work-flow budgets would help build knowledge of educational processes and provide data for more detailed program budgets. Most important, work-flow budgets would enable teachers and parents to assist school principals and PACs in deciding what programs work best and which do not. If program B moves students toward the goal of reading competence at half the cost of program A, then there is a rational basis for selecting program B over A. Until this kind of technical, work-flow information is available, it will be difficult to reallocate resources in a manner that will assure the maintenance of quality education.

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[24] For a full explanation of the many forces acting to standardize our nation's school curriculum, see Roald F. Campbell and Robert A. Bunnell, eds., *Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

[25] An attempt to measure progress through a juvenile rehabilitation program was made by Nathan Caplan, "Treatment Intervention and Reciprocal Interaction Effects," *Journal of Social Issues*, 24, No. 1 (1968), 63–88.

THE STATE'S ROLE IN SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT

Shifting responsibility for schooling to the school site would not eliminate the state's role in public education. States would continue to provide a substantial portion of public school resources, particularly for districts that lack the ability to finance their schools adequately, and for districts with large numbers of children requiring specialized programs.

In addition to funding, states need to be involved in setting school standards. Public pressure for higher standards in public schools should encourage states to establish minimum standards for schools and develop procedures for ensuring that the standards are met. This probably would require statewide examinations to assess student achievement in at least the areas of reading and mathematics, since, despite the variety of tasks involved in schooling, reading and computing are commonly accepted as minimum skills for every child. (Individuals may disagree on the relative significance of these skills, but it is difficult to identify a rational point of view that holds that they are of no importance.) Consequently, it is highly probable that an annual statewide assessment of children's achievement in these two areas would be publicly acceptable.

There is no need to specify a single best method of establishing a statewide testing scheme. It is not necessary to test every child every year. By selecting a relatively small sample at each grade level from each school, it would be possible to assess the performance of each school. It is important, however, that the sampling population be sufficient to generalize about each grade level at each school.

ANNUAL PERFORMANCE REPORTS

Whereas a statewide testing program is intended to provide the state with an early-warning system regarding its interests in minimum levels of student achievement, an Annual Performance Report would primarily enhance local client interests. This report would probably appear each spring. The principal should be primarily responsible for overseeing its production; however, it should have sections reserved for exclusive use of the parent advisory council, students (above the ninth grade), and staff. The report should be published in the local newspaper, posted prominently in the school, and, most importantly, sent home to the parents or guardian of each student. The report would be the primary printed instrument by which clients could assess the effectiveness of their local school. In addition, these reports would provide sufficient information to permit clients to choose among schools.

Proliferation of reporting forms and data collection efforts has long been a frustrating fact of life in both the private and public sectors. Well designed Annual Performance Reports should help to reduce some of this burden. For the state, federal government, and local school districts, as well as for the individual school site, the Annual Performance Report should be the primary data-compilation instrument. The school district could aggregate information from individual school reports to meet state reporting requirements for school districts.

The contents of an Annual Performance Report includes topical categories and items similar to those illustrated in Table 11–4.

SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

In most areas of the country, teacher's representatives negotiate with district school boards over items and conditions of employment. Since districts are likely to continue raising money for public schools, teachers will likely insist on negotiating salary schedules and working conditions at the district level.

For school site management to be effective, current collective bargaining practices would have to be modified. Hiring of personnel and grievance hearings would be conducted at the school site, and if seniority rights are agreed upon, they would apply only within a particular school. The most important change from current collective bargaining practices, however, would be the addition of school site bargaining to the agenda of school site planning. Teachers would sit down with the principal and representatives of the parent advisory committee to develop the next year's educational program. Members of the press and public would be permitted to observe those sessions. Final settlement of the district-wide economic agreement would be contingent upon the signing of local school site program contracts.

Bargaining at the school site would enable parents to influence the kind of schooling being offered. If teachers at one school insisted on shorter class periods, parents could indicate their dissatisfaction directly by complaining to the PAC or indirectly by transferring their children to another school. To keep their jobs, teachers would have to be sensitive to parents' concerns. School site agreements on the content of the school program would help bring the public back into public education.

TABLE 11-4

An Elementary School Annual Performance Report
Illustrative Table of Contents

School Information

Name, location, enrollment, age of building, number of classrooms, number of specialized rooms, school site size, state of repair, amount spent on maintenance in the last year and last decade, library volumes, etc.

Staff Information

Number of staff members by category, age, sex, ethnic background, experience, degree levels, proportion of various license classifications, etc.

Student Performance Information

Intellectual performance data: all information on student performance on standardized tests should be reported in terms of state-established minimum standards. Relative performance of different schools in the district should also be provided. Other performance data might include: student turnover rate, absenteeism, library circulation, performance of past students at next level of schooling (junior high, high school, college), etc.

Areas of Strength

Here the school can describe what it considers its unique or noteworthy characteristics. The purpose is to encourage every school to have one or more areas of particular specialization and competence, to espouse a particular educational philosophy, or to employ a distinct methodology or approach. This section would inform parents about the tone or style of the school.

Areas of Improvement

In this section the school would identify five areas for improvement and would outline its plans regarding them. These problem areas might change from year to year or remain the same as the school mounts a long-term improvement project. This section should encourage schools to be self-critical, to establish specific goals, and to report on subsequent progress.

Parent, Teacher, and Student Assessment of School Performance

Responsible parents, teachers, and students should be permitted an uncensored opportunity to assess school performance. This section would permit various school constituencies to express their opinions of school success or failure with respect to such matters as actual instruction, curriculum development, racial relations, drug abuse, student participation in decisionmaking, etc.

Source: *The Fleischmann Report on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in New York State*, Vol. III (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), pp. 58-59.

So far, only elements designed to increase the voice of school site personnel and the public have been discussed. It is entirely possible that teacher and citizen participation at the school site may generate many suggestions but produce few changes. In this case, it is important that parents be free to transfer their children to another school if their complaints are ignored. Allowing choice of schools is likely to make schools more responsive to parent suggestions.[26]

There are several ways of providing parents more choice among school programs. For example, each school could offer several alternative programs—a traditional program, an arts program, a free school program, a career education program, etc. Parents would select a program for their child, and the school would then allocate personnel and other resources to each alternative on the basis of the number of children enrolled.

Parents would be free to send their children to any public school within the district that offers instruction for their child's age group. Many parents would continue to send their children to the neighborhood school, but others would not. It is possible, therefore, that some schools would be oversubscribed while others would have extra room. Districts could handle this problem in several ways. One way would be to provide mobile classrooms, which could be used in the short run to permit expansion of more successful programs. In the long run, new facilities could be built or leased to accommodate the children who transfer.

However, providing extra classrooms may be too expensive, and parents may regard mobile classrooms as inferior. An alternative approach would be to expand the authority of a successful principal to include some functions of a school that does not attract as many students. For example, if school A attracted more students than it could handle, and school B enrolled only one-half as many as it could accommodate, the principal of school A might be asked to manage some instructional areas in school B to accommodate school A's overflow.

Regardless of the institutional arrangements, a number of characteristics must be present in order for competition to be effective.[27] First, parents must be able to evaluate the performance of programs within a school and among various schools. This is not easy in large school districts, since the performance of students on standardized tests is affected by many factors besides the quality of instruction. Nevertheless, the annual performance reports could provide information which, together with the informal information spread by word of mouth, would be adequate to enable most parents to make an intelligent choice of program.

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[26] This point is clearly stated by Albert Hirschman:

> Similarly, when an organization arouses but ignores voice while it would be responsive to exit, thought must be given both to making exit more easy and attractive by appropriately redesigned institutions and to making the organization more responsive to voice. The approach to the improvement of institutional designs that is advocated here widens the spectrum of policy choices that are usually considered and it avoids the strong opposite biases in favor of either exit or voice which come almost naturally to the economist and political scientist respectively. [*Exit, Voice and Loyalty*, pp. 123–24.]

[27] A more detailed discussion of these characteristics is found in Anthony Downs, "Competition and Community Schools," in *Community Control of Schools*, ed. Henry M. Levin (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970), pp. 219–49.

Second, competition among school programs is possible only if there are realistic alternatives for every family. At a minimum, there would have to be open enrollment within districts. But even this may not provide real options unless transportation is available to each school, particularly for children from low-income families. The possibility that some schools will be oversubscribed will also have to be considered.

Third, schools must be free to offer different educational programs. If district regulations force every school to provide similar services, an open enrollment policy will not produce competitive pressures. School principals must be free to hire and fire personnel and to use resources in different ways to promote different educational products. Finally, allocation of school district resources must reflect parents' choices of educational programs. Schools must receive some reward for attracting more students and some penalty for losing students if competition is to work.

Allowing for free choice among school programs makes school site management look much like a voucher plan in which parents are constrained to use publicly operated programs and money is paid directly to the schools. Taken by itself, this element of the school site management plan is not much different from some voucher proposals. The intent of providing free parent choice of school programs, however, is to increase the sensitivity of schools to greater parent participation. School administrators and teachers must know that if they are not responsive to parent concerns, parents have the option of going elsewhere. To use Hirschman's terminology, the exit option is used to strengthen the voice option.[28]

WILL SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT WORK?

Most of the elements of school site management–parent advisory councils, school site budgeting, open enrollment–have been tried singly or in combination in a number of school districts. The experience of these districts provides clues to the likely effects of school site management. In school districts that have permitted individual schools to develop alternative educational programs, a variety of programs has emerged. Delegating educational program

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[28] Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*, pp. 123-24.

TABLE 11-5

Expenditure Variations Among Elementary Schools
in Newport-Mesa Unified School District
Using School-By-School Budgeting, 1972-1973

Expenditure Category	*District-wide Average Expenditure per Pupil*	*Range of School-By-School Expenditure per Pupil*
Field Trips	$1.15	$0.32–$2.58
Textbooks	0.15	0.00– 1.24
Other Books	0.74	0.00– 1.74
Professional Meetings	0.16	0.00– 1.56
Instructional Supplies	13.35	8.25–33.68
Office Supplies	1.00	0.00– 2.59
Health Supplies	0.10	0.00– 0.26
Telephone	1.49	0.90– 2.36
New Equipment	3.02	0.07–11.07

Source: Diana K. Thomason, unpublished paper, University of California, Berkeley, 1977. Berkeley, 1977.

decisions to the school site will almost certainly produce a broader range of educational offerings than under centralized program management.[29]

An analysis of school site budgeting in the Newport-Mesa Unified School District in California is revealing. When provided with discretion over the use of funds, the schools within the district chose to spend their funds in markedly different ways. Table 11-5 shows the school district average and school-by-school expenditure variation for a school district that used lump-sum school site budgeting. Clearly, some schools within the district chose to forego entirely items such as office supplies, new textbooks, and professional meetings in order to concentrate funds on new equipment and instructional supplies.

Similar variations occurred in the use of personnel under lump-sum school budgeting. When permitted, school administrators selected a wide mixture of teachers, aides, and special service personnel such as counselors, reading teachers, part-time tutors, and assistant administrators. Some of this variation may have been the result of differences in pupil characteristics among schools. Of course, if the allocation of school resources were viewed over a longer period, some of the variation might disappear, yet preliminary information and logic both suggest that school site management and budgeting would produce a much greater variety of educational services.

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[29] A summary of educational alternatives in public schools is found in Mario D. Fantini, "Alternative Educational Experiences: The Demand for Change," in *Public Testimony on Public Schools*, prepared by the National Committee for Citizens in Education (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1975), pp. 160–82.

A more difficult question is whether school site management will help districts adjust to a period of declining resources in a manner that is responsive to community preferences. The evidence needed to answer this question is not readily available.

Under centralized management, cutbacks tend to be made first in the capital outlay and maintenance budgets. Next, programs that are only indirectly related to the purpose of schools (such as driver education or arts programs) or programs that serve small segments of the community (such as adult education programs) are cut. As a last resort, teaching staff are released on a "last hired, first fired" basis.[30]

Under school site management, many of the cutbacks would be made at the school site, and each school might cut something different. Capital outlay, maintenance, and unessential programs would probably still be the first casualties. Staff cutbacks, however, might vary considerably among schools. For example, a ghetto school might decide to retain recently hired minority staff members if those teachers' programs were deemed sufficiently important. Of course, some parents might object to such a decision and decide to send their children elsewhere.

The key question is whether the tyranny of the majority at a single school site would produce better public policy than the tyranny of the majority in an entire district. Our guess is that more people would be more satisfied with school-by-school cutbacks than with district-wide cutbacks–both because they would be able to influence those decisions more easily and because cutbacks would be more carefully tailored to the educational preferences of smaller communities.

IMPLEMENTING SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT

Implementing a major reform proposal is never easy. Those people who benefit from the existing order will naturally oppose the reform. Those who are likely to benefit from the new arrangement are often disorganized and only half-hearted in their support. Their lack of enthusiasm for change arises partly from their fear of those in power and partly from their unwillingness to believe in anything new until they have actually experienced it.

OPPOSITION TO SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT

The political feasibility of school site management is an important question. Opposition to school site management would come from several areas. Many superintendents and central office personnel would oppose decentralization, because it would diminish their role and influence. Frequently, proponents of administrative decentralization seek to rally support for their proposals by emphasizing the incompetence of district administrators. This strategy both misses the major reason for decentralization and solidifies administrative opposition to the plan.

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[30] Gerwin, *Budgeting Public Funds*, p. 148.

The purpose of school site management is to encourage greater program flexibility, which is impossible with centralized administration. Furthermore, school site management would not eliminate the need for a central administration. Rather, it would free the central administration to spend more time on those things it does best, such as carrying on financial transactions with external agencies and ensuring that district activities are being performed properly. Many financial, monitoring, auditing, and testing functions would remain the responsibility of the central administration. Most program and personnel planning, however, would be delegated to the school site.

Another likely source of opposition would come from union leaders. In many districts, unions are in the process of establishing relationships with teachers and district management, and they are likely to oppose any reform that complicates their organizational task. They would particularly oppose the delegation of most personnel functions to individual school sites because it would mean dealing individually with many principals, rather than with the school board or its representative. Finally, unions are likely to oppose school site bargaining on program issues. Their task is easier and their position is stronger if they can bargain on all issues with a single board or its representative.

Union opposition might prove fatal to school site management if most teachers were also opposed to the idea. The question of teachers' attitudes is complicated and is likely to vary considerably among districts. Many teachers today are disillusioned because they are often blamed for the failures of public education, at the same time they are increasingly constrained from doing anything to improve it. A key element of school site management is strengthening the role of the teacher in the classroom. If teachers are given greater control in the classroom and more influence over school policy—in selecting a principal and designing a school's curriculum, for instance—they are likely to support school site management, or at least some parts of it. Teacher support is essential for the plan to work; it is also the key to diluting union opposition.

PHASE ONE: DEVELOPING IMPLEMENTATION PLANS

To minimize professional opposition to school site management and to build public confidence in its ability to improve public education, the proposed reforms might be phased in gradually. During the first year emphasis should be on developing a detailed school site management policy that includes goals, objectives, and an implementation strategy. Principals, teachers, students and parents should be encouraged to participate in development of the decentralization plans. Whenever possible, schools should be permitted to experiment with various forms of school government.

More specifically, a number of innovations could be made without major changes in state or district laws and regulations. Parent advisory committees could be established. Alternative election procedures could be tried, and PACs could be given a variety of responsibilities to find out which tasks they are likely to perform most effectively. Principals could gradually be accorded greater control over school curricula and school budgets. As they became experienced in making curriculum and resource decisions, they could be allowed to reallocate surplus funds and hopefully encourage improved program efficiency and productivity.

Districts could also begin experimenting with open enrollment policies to learn how many and what kinds of students change schools. Principals and advisory school councils could prepare performance reports and distribute them throughout the district. Initially, few restrictions or requirements should be placed on the contents of these reports. Experimentation would help identify those elements of the reports that are of interest to the public.

Major emphasis should be given to creating interest in school self-government, to conducting experiments and discussions of alternative arrangements of school government, and to collecting information on the likely consequences of greater parent, principal, and teacher control at the school site.

PHASE TWO: TRAINING SCHOOL PERSONNEL

During the second year, emphasis would be on training of school site personnel. Of primary importance would be the retraining of principals, since the principal's role is crucial to the success of school site governance. The principal must become a strong educational leader, a good manager, and an accomplished public relations expert. These skills are seldom gained through experience as a classroom teacher, nor are they emphasized in most schools of education. Careful thought and much effort would have to be given to the training of school principals.

A considerable amount of staff retraining would also have to be undertaken to prepare teachers for their expanded roles. They would have to become accomplished in curriculum development and program evaluation. The role of teachers would be particularly important in low-income districts, since they would act as liaison personnel in teaching parents how to choose educational programs and participate in the education of their children.

PHASE THREE: ELIMINATING LEGAL BARRIERS

A third phase, which might take as long as two years, would focus on developing the institutional vehicle for carrying out a school site management policy. Initially, state statutes and regulations would have to be reviewed to uncover requirements that are inconsistent with administrative decentralization. For example, under most state laws, school boards are not permitted to delegate responsibilities to school site committees or councils. State budget or finance laws are also likely to prohibit delegation of budgeting responsibilities below the district level. Such laws would have to be changed to permit greater control over educational policy and budgeting at the school site.

State provisions regarding teaching certification, employment, assignment, etc. would also have to be amended to permit the delegation of personnel functions to individual schools. Particularly troublesome would be tenure or fair dismissal laws and collective bargaining laws. For school site management to be effective, principals should have the authority to hire teachers. Regulations giving teachers seniority rights throughout a district would have to be revised. To increase the program flexibility of local school administrators, certification requirements could be relaxed under certain circumstances. There are many persons without teaching credentials–some with Ph.D.'s and some with "real world" experience–who would make outstanding classroom teachers.

In addition to revising state laws, policies would have to be enacted outlining the specific responsibilities of parent advisory councils, principals, and parents. Attention should also be given to the kinds of support each group needs in order to carry out its responsibilities. PACs would be powerless without adequate information on which to base policy recommendations; necessary information could be supplied by individual principals or by a central office responsible for assisting PACs. It might be useful to empower a broad-based committee at each school site to develop a specific implementation plan. This committee, consisting of the principal, teacher representatives, students and parents, would attempt to thrash out the issues that school site management might engender. This activity of constitution building at the school site would also be good training for principals and potential PAC members.

PHASE FOUR: ALLOCATING FUNDS

During the final implementation phase, district funds would be allocated to each school on a lump-sum basis, and program planning, implementation, and evaluation would be carried out at the school site. At this point an open enrollment policy would go into effect, and provisions would have to be made for intradistrict transportation of students.

PROSPECTS FOR SCHOOL SITE MANAGEMENT

Some elements of school site management have been enacted into law in Florida. The concept is also being discussed in some urban districts, such as San Francisco.[31] School site management is a decision-making arrangement that

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[31] On January 6, 1976, San Francisco School Superintendent Robert F. Alioto proposed an organizational redesign of the district that included a shift from school district to school site management.

> I recommend that we move toward a school site management model that values

enables school districts to make hard economic decisions in ways that are responsive to the consumers of public education. It counteracts the trend toward increasing centralization in public education and is therefore consistent with demands for greater citizen participation in public decision making.

In addition, school site management provides a mechanism for making professional educators more accountable for their performance. Accountability would shift from the district level to the school site. If a school failed to meet the expectations of its constituents, parents could ask that the principal be replaced, or they could try to change the school's curriculum and methods of instruction, or failing all else they could send their children to a different school. School site management would provide citizens with a stronger voice and greater choice in public education than they now possess. Both of these abilities would go far toward restoring confidence in public schools.

Summary

This chapter has examined school district management and budgeting procedures, showing how they fail to be responsive to the interests and concerns of school clientele. More specifically, local school management and budgeting are dominated by district superintendents and central office staff. Typically, resources are allocated by norms, which give local schools little flexibility of resource use at the school building or site.

Centralized norm-based budgeting has a number of deficiencies. While it provides a workable basis for allocating resources during periods of economic growth, it does not adequately cope with the hard decisions required when budgets must be trimmed back or cut. Centralized management and budgeting have also had the unintended consequence of discriminating against children in poor central city schools because of the tendency of more experienced and higher paid teachers to transfer to schools in the district's periphery where there are more students from middle-income families.

Besides contributing to inequality, centralized budgeting may encourage serious inefficiencies in the operation of schools. Finally, this kind of system stifles citizen and parent participation, which is critically important in urban achievement.

We propose a major realignment of management responsibility, focusing it at the school site. This arrangement would increase the ability of parents and

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staff and community involvement and stresses accountability. We must recognize the principal as the instructional leader of the school. We must expand the budgeting and fiscal control at each school site. . . . We must establish at each school site one active advisory committee which includes parents, students, and staff representatives of the school's ethnic population. . . . [Robert F. Alioto, "An Education Redesign for the San Francisco Unified School District," San Francisco, CA January 6, 1976.]

school building personnel to influence school policies. Specifically, we recommend:

1. making the school site the basic unit of educational management.
2. appointing parent advisory councils to assist principals and teachers in managing the local school.
3. making the principal accountable for the development of a school program and the performance of a school's students.
4. allocating centrally raised funds to schools on a "lump-sum" basis.
5. making the state responsible for administering statewide assessments of local school performance.
6. requiring schools to prepare annual performance reports.
7. insisting that issues concerning a school's educational program be negotiated at the school site with maximum citizen participation.
8. giving parents greater choice among local school programs.

These reforms are designed to increase the responsiveness and efficiency of local schools and, in the process, to provide more equal educational opportunity by ensuring more understandable and effective public schools.

Annotated bibliography

Ackoff, R. L. *Creating the Corporate Future: Plan or be Planned for*. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1981, Ch. 3 'Our changing concept of planning'.

Russell Ackoff is the Daniel H. Silberberg Professor of Systems Sciences at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. This view of the planning process contrasts with the excessively rational top-down approaches which have little application in education or, indeed, most organisations. He proposes an interactive approach which 'regards the past, present, and future as different but inseparable aspects of the mess to be planned for; it focuses on all of them equally. It is based on the belief that unless all three temporal aspects of a mess are taken into account, development will be obstructed' (p. 53). He describes three operating principles of interactive planning. Reflecting the participative principle, '*in planning, process is the most important product* . . . the principal benefit of it derives from engaging in it' (p. 65). With the principle of continuity, planning is a continuous activity rather than discontinous as in most organisations. The holistic principle has two parts: the principle of co-ordination which states that 'no part of an organisation can be planned for effectively if it is planned for independently of any other unit at the same level' (pp. 71–72) and the principle of integration which states that 'planning done independently at any level of a system cannot be as effective as planning carried out interdependently at all levels' (p. 73). Collaborative school management as proposed by Caldwell and Spinks is consistent with the application of these three principles in the school setting.

Boyd, W. L. 'Competing values in educational policy and governance: Australian and American developments'. *Educational Administration Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1984, pp. 4–24.

Note: This paper is reprinted in its entirety in another section of this monograph.

Boyd examines the three competing values of liberty, equality and efficiency, especially 'in the context of the ambitious current effort to reform the Victorian Department of Education in Australia and relevant experiences in educational policy and governance in the United States of America' (p. 4). These three values were explored at length in the book by Garms, Guthrie & Pierce which is also included in this annotated bibliography. Boyd is concerned at the inconsistency between current efforts to introduce school-based management in Victoria and continuing control by a central bureaucracy. He proposes for discussion an approach which may resolve this inconsistency: 'But suppose, for purposes of discussion, that Victorian schools were given funds on a student per-capita and needs-based formula system and then were allowed to purchase from the centre the staff and materials, in the quantities and type, they individually chose to orchestrate their own preferred educational program . . . Such an arrangement would force the centre to move toward becoming the servant of the periphery, as is now intended but far from realised' (p. 19). The approach to policy formulation and resource allocation described by Caldwell & Spinks in this monograph as collaborative school management would provide a framework within which the proposal by Boyd could be implemented.

Boyd, W. L. 'Political science and educational administration'. (ESA841 *Theory and Practice in Educational Administration*), Deakin University, Vic., 1983.

This monograph contains two papers which describe the current environment for policy making and resource allocation. Boyd's major paper entitled 'Political science and educational administration: Rethinking educational policy and management in the 1980s' outlines four kinds of decline which confront the administrator in education: 'declining enrolments, declining economic-budgetary circumstances, declining public confidence in schooling and a declining legitimacy of administrative authority' (p. 8). He draws on a variety of perspectives from political science to support his conclusion that 'careful policy and implementation analysis will help produce better informed priorities and choices for effective schools for all children' (p. 24). Murphy's paper entitled 'School administrators besieged: A look at Australian and American education' is based on impressions of Australia in a visit during 1978. He examines changes which have affected or involved the principal actors, namely, school administrators, the Federal government, the courts, elected officials, citizens, pressure groups and what he terms 'new-breed' professionals (lawyers, policy analysts and social scientists). Though written in 1980, it enables Australian readers, especially those in Victoria, to see that the high level of citizen involvement which has now emerged in Victoria goes beyond that which may be found in the United States. While he noted at the time that 'the idea has yet to take hold,' Murphy observed that 'Australia has been flirting with the idea of parental control of schools through the creation of parent councils at each and every school. If successful, this would devolve parental control further than has traditionally been the case in America, where local boards operate at the school district level' (p. 63).

Brown, I. 'Programming a school budget: Principles and techniques', in R. T. Fitzgerald (ed.) *Budget Design and Educational Policy*. Published collected papers of a seminar on program budgeting, Public Policy Research and Development Unit, Faculty of Business, Victoria College, Burwood, 1983.

Ione Brown was National Director of the Choice and Diversity Project conducted jointly by the Commonwealth Schools Commission and State and Territory education authorities to explore the concept of choice as an approach to educational improvement. Her theme in this paper is consistent with the collaborative school management process: '. . . if we are to approach program budgeting successfully in education we have to divest ourselves of mechanistic input-output models, recognising that it is not a production line but childrearing we are dealing with. As parents must do in relation to their own children, we have to work out as a community how much we are able and inclined to pay in order that children and adolescents have experiences which will help them . . . to understand and act upon the world we all share. And we have to construct budgetary arrangements which make it most possible for that to happen' (p. 109). She supports program budgeting at the school level but cautions against the use of standard program categories within which all schools must budget.

Caldwell, B. & Hodgson, E. 'Implementation of school-based budgeting'. *The Canadian Administrator*, vol.XVII, no. 4, 1978.

This paper reports a study by Caldwell which investigated the nature, objectives, adoption, operation and perceived outcomes of decentralised school budgeting in some school jurisdictions in Alberta. Decentralised school budgeting was defined as the systematic and consistent delegation to the school of authority to make budget decisions. The major part of the investigation was a series of case studies in seven school systems with a relatively high degree of decentralised school budgeting. Nine implications are offered for those contemplating some form of decentralised budgeting, including the importance of 'unfreezing' in the change process: successful decentralisation involves changes in attitude as well as changes in procedure and the development of new skills.

Caldwell, B. J. & Misko, J. 'School-based budgeting: A financial strategy for meeting the needs of students'. *Educational Administration Review*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1984, pp. 29–59.

This paper provides a theoretical rationale for school-based budgeting, reports previous research, and outlines the methodology and outcomes of Stage 1 of the Effective Resource Allocation in

Schools Project described in the paper by Caldwell & Spinks which forms the major part of this monograph. Of special interest is a listing of criteria used to identify highly effective schools, with Rosebery District High School receiving more nominations as a highly effective school than any other in Tasmania. The introduction of program budgeting and corporate planning for education in Tasmania are also described. Areas of knowledge and skill applicable to corporate planning and program budgeting were found to include policy making, planning, decision making, management of conflict, building consensus, negotiation, management of information, evaluation, and an approach to corporate planning which is suited to education.

Caldwell, B. J. & Spinks, J. M. '*Policy making and planning for school effectiveness: A Guide to Collaborative School Management*'. Education Department of Tasmania, 1985.

Collaborative school management as described in the major paper of this monograph is explained and illustrated in this fourteen-chapter book. Part A outlines in general terms how the approach responds to present concerns for effectiveness in education and the interest in collaborative approaches to school management. Part B provides a detailed account of the process, with Chapter 5 describing what has occurred at Rosebery District High School, Chapter 6 outlining the recommended approach to goal setting and policy making, Chapter 7 dealing with planning and budgeting, Chapter 8 describing the manner in which programs are implemented and Chapter 9 focusing on program evaluation. Part C provides recommendation for 'Making it Work' with chapter titles reflecting the issues which are addressed: Chapter 10 'Getting Started', Chapter 11 'Management of Change', Chapter 12 'Management of Conflict', Chapter 13 'Management of the Staff Resource' and Chapter 14 'Questions People Often Ask.' A multi-media package with video-tape, audio-tape and other materials is also available.

Garms, W. I., Guthrie, J.W. & Pierce, L. W. *School Finance: The Economics and Politics of Public Education*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Chapter 11: 'Reforming public school management and budgeting', 1978.

Note: This chapter is reprinted in its entirety in another section of this monograph.

The authors contend that centralised approaches to the allocation of resources to schools are not responsive to the interests and concerns of school clientele because 'typically, resources are allocated by norms, which give local schools little flexibility of resource use at the school building or site.' (p. 293) Specifically, the deficiencies of such approaches are their assumption of sustained growth, their tendency to increase educational inequalities because of reliance on uniform allocations, their stifling of citizen participation and their contribution to inefficiency through failure to meet the needs of all students, lack of incentives for teachers to be efficient, failure to foster innovation and removal of crucial actors from the decision-making process. Eight recommendations are offered for reform: '(1) making the school site the basic unit of educational management, (2) appointing parent advisory councils to assist principals and teachers in managing the local school, (3) making the principal accountable for the development of a school program and the performance of a school's students, (4) allocating centrally raised funds to schools on a 'lump-sum' basis, (5) making the state responsible for administering statewide assessments of local school performances, (6) requiring schools to prepare annual performance reports, (7) insisting that issues concerning a school's educational program be negotiated at the school site with maximum citizen participation, and (8) giving parents greater choice among local school programs' (p. 294). Many of the arguments and elements of the recommendations which are offered by the authors for school systems in the United States are applicable in the Australian setting. The approach described by Caldwell & Spinks as collaborative school management provides a framework at the school level for implementing the recommendations offered by Garms, Guthrie & Pierce.

Hough, M. 'Curriculum: A necessary integrator for educational administration'. *Educational Administration Review*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1984, pp. 60–84.

This paper is based on a critique of traditional approaches to the study and practice of educational administration which views tasks in administration as separate from those in curriculum. The author proposes that curriculum studies can be viewed as 'the necessary integrator for educational administration, in that . . . issues of choice in educational administration can be more readily resolved by an overall referent question: "which option would most appropriately support the selected curriculum purpose(s) of the school?"' (p. 61). In this regard, the approach is consistent with the broader view of resources adopted in the paper by Caldwell & Spinks in this monograph and in this course. Hough outlines a five-step view of the 'process of curriculum' which will meet the needs of the school administrator who seeks an integration of curriculum and administration.

Larson, R. 'Planning in garbage cans: Notes from the field'. *The Journal of Educational Administration*, vol.XX, no. 1, 1982.

Larson describes how five schools in four Vermont school districts came to use the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Planning Model in the mid-seventies, the factors which supported the goal setting process, and the impact of the process on curriculum. He found that progress beyong the goal setting phase was rare, with goal setting seen by most teachers as an 'isolated event' and 'no formal connection was made between goals and program and instructional level objectives' (p. 48, 50). Larson thus questions the relevance to education of a rational approach which 'assumes that goals can be set, resources marshalled and allocated, programs implemented, and evaluations made on the degree to which goals are achieved.' (pp. 50–51). In this regard, Larson would call into question the feasibility of the Collaborative School Management Cycle as proposed by Caldwell & Spinks. He refers, however, to a number of characteristics of schools, including problematic goals and loose coupling and supports McCaskey's view of 'directional planning' which takes account of our tendency to act and then set goals as opposed to setting goals and then acting. This approach is to some extent consistent with the collaborative school management process. Without explicit acknowledgment, goals and models for goal setting are treated as resources in this paper, serving different purposes including the maintenance of the status quo.

Mackenzie, D. E. 'Research for school improvement. An appraisal of some recent trends'. *Educational Researcher*, vol. 12, no. 4, 1983, pp. 5–17.

This paper is in the tradition of recent studies on school effectiveness but provides a particular focus on school resources in the discussion of the findings. The view of resources is narrow, often excluding consideration of curriculum issues. Its contribution lies in Mackenzie's view that 'the most effective allocations (of resources) will be those that are most responsive to local needs and that flow out of the evolution of comprehensive planning for instructional improvements' (p. 12). National approaches to determining the 'best' mix of resources for use at the school level are discounted.

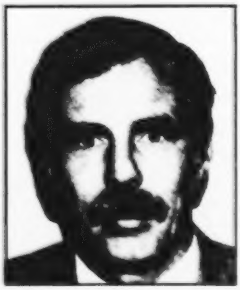
Watkins, P. 'Collective strategies: Collaborative approaches towards the administration of education'. *Unicorn*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1985, pp. 105–113.

Note: This paper is reprinted in its entirety in another section of this monograph.

The approach described by Caldwell & Spinks as collaborative school management seems well-suited to the setting in Victoria where developments since 1982 require collaborative approaches to the administration of education. Watkins outlines these developments, giving particular attention to the framework which was set by the six Ministerial Papers and to the emerging role of the principal as one who 'should have the ability to respect and facilitate the collaborative, participatory decision-making processes involving and unfolding from the communicative interaction of the school community' (p. 106). Watkins supports the view of MacIntyre that it is a fiction to believe that teachers, parents and other members of the school community lack the expertise to contribute to the decision-making process. He concludes that participation 'is important as a means of reasserting the agency of the school community in creating the organisational educational forms in which they work and live' (p. 113).

About the authors

Brian Caldwell has been an administrator and teacher of mathematics and science in secondary schools in Australia and Canada. He is currently a senior lecturer in educational administration at the University of Tasmania with special interests in the areas of leadership, policy making, planning, management of change and management of conflict. Since 1977 he has conducted over 150 seminars and workshops for administrators in government and non-government schools in Australia and Canada. Since 1982 he has been director of the Effective Resource Allocation in Schools Project.



Jim Spinks is principal of Roseberry District High School, Tasmania. For over twenty years he has held administrative positions in relatively remote Tasmanian schools in which he as been instrumental in the development of community participation in school-decision making. This has involved the use of collaborative approaches to policy making, planning, budgeting and evaluation at the school level. He also taught in the United States in 1976 when he was awarded a United States of America Bicentennial Fellowship.

Since 1984 Dr Caldwell and Mr Spinks have been consultants to the Victorian Education Department on the introduction of program budgeting and planning at the school level.

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